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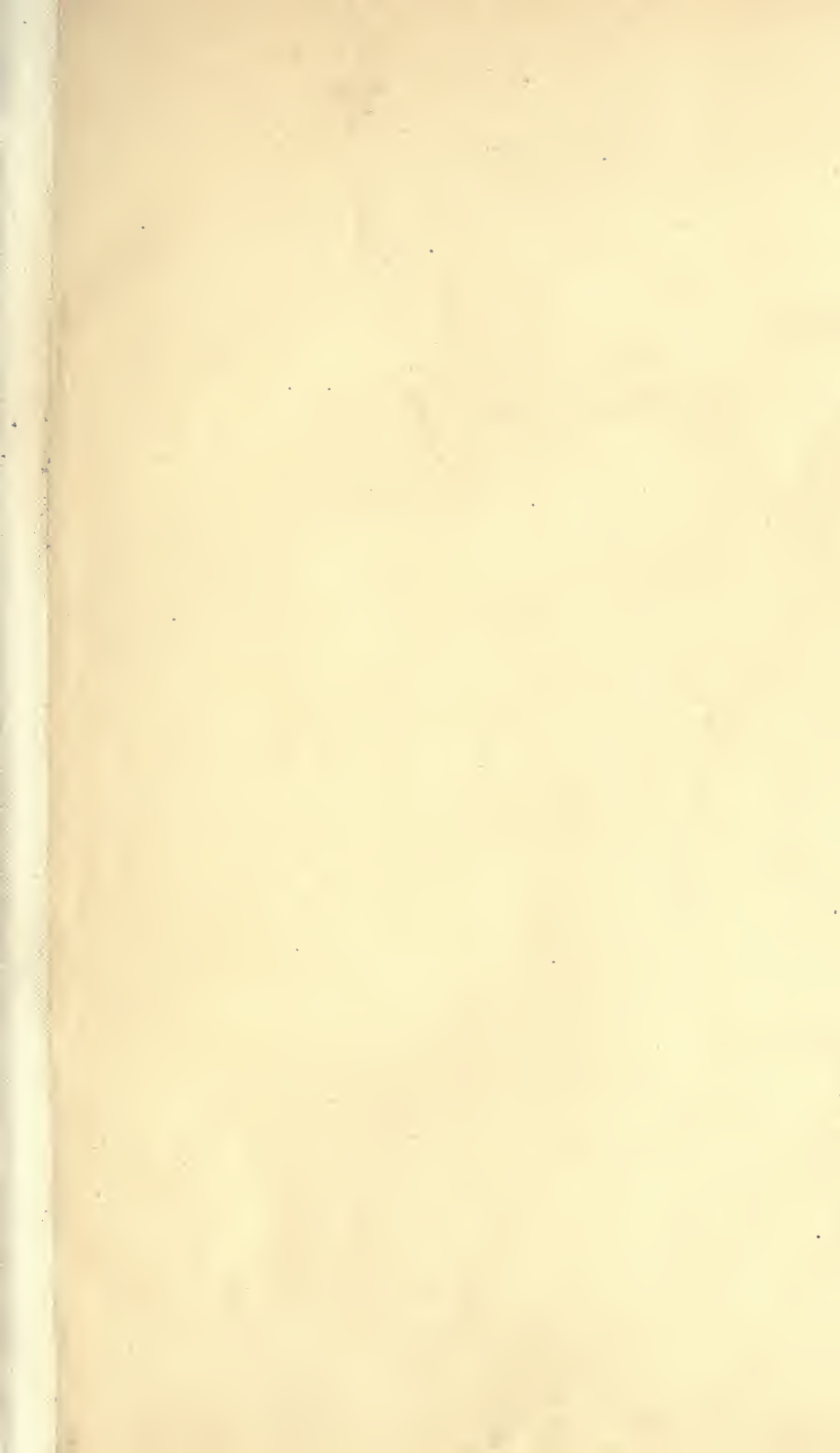
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# THE LANGUAGE

of

## the English Metrical Homilies.

(ed. by J. SMALL M. A.)



Inaugural Dissertation

for

the acquirement of the degree of a Ph. D.

at

the University of Berne

handed in by

**Omar Weber**

from Netstal.



BERN

Buchdruckerei Gottfr. Iseli

1902



Von der philosophischen Fakultät auf Antrag von  
Herrn *Prof. Dr. Müller-Hess* angenommen.

*Bern*, den 15. November 1901.

*Der Prodekan:*  
**Prof. Dr. Graf.**



The collection of 13 old English Homilies preceded by a Prologue, which were edited by John Small M. A. under the title of English Metrical Homilies (Edinburgh 1862), belongs to the oldest extant of the Northern cycle. They show many peculiarities from a philological point of view and are besides of great interest to prove how the service was carried on in many churches about the year 1300.

Horstmann *Altenglische Legenden* (Neue Folge Heilbronn 1881), says on page XXXVI: «It is a pity that the origin and the development as well as the use of the legendaries for Church services is as yet almost unknown, as a great number of manuscripts are hidden and forgotten in the libraries». Already at a very early period the Christian Church began to make use of the passions of the martyrs for the service in church. Thus Augustin mentions in *sermo 2 de S. Stephano*: «cum aliorum martyrum vix gesta inveniamus quae in solemnitatibus eorum recitare possimus huius (Stephani) passio in canonico libro est». Aelfric wrote towards the end of the 10<sup>th</sup> century an Anglo-Saxon collection of legends which he took from Latin sources as it had been done before him already by a German monk Wolfhard in Herrieden (cf. *Archiv d. Geschichte f. ält. deut. Gesch.* V. 565; X. 645). But the systematical arrangement of collections of legends is chiefly owing to the Benedictine monks of the 12<sup>th</sup> and 13<sup>th</sup> century when the worshipping of saints had reached its climax. These legendary lives of the saints began to be read after the homiletic part of the Church service and are called in our collection *narracio*, a tale, *notanda relatio*. These legends enjoying the favour of the people, quite a number of totally unknown versions of lives of saints or of legendary tales are to be found towards the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century in the Mss.

of the different countries, usually written in Latin and hence translated into French, English, German etc.

Mussafia, *Stud. z. d. Marienlegenden*, II. Teil, p. 65 tells us that many of the legends of the *Legenda aurea* and just those which are written in a simple popular style as the woman with the candle etc. are not to be found in the great collections extant in the Mss. of the 12<sup>th</sup> century. Where has Jacobo a Voragine taken them from?

Jacobo a Voragine died in 1298. Which age he has reached and when we may fix the date of the publication of his work, is a matter of uncertainty. Though this golden book of legends gained in a very short time a great reputation and circulation in all monasteries and though the numerous younger collections as Barbour's old Scottish legends, Bokenham's *Lives of Saints* and others are drawn from the *Legenda aurea*, we cannot find that the *Leg. aur.* has been used for our *Metr. Homilies*, but other Latin collections of legends. For we must not forget, that the greater part of the tales of the *Leg. aur.* was not composed by Jacobus, they are so to speak but the final link of a long development of the legendary books. The same tales are found with exact the same words or very close expressions in the earlier collections, which have also been translated into English and therefore show a very close conformity with the *Leg. aur.*

It is as yet unproved which collection or collections were the source of Jacobus and perhaps it will never be known, as many valuable manuscripts have been destroyed by the religious fanaticism of the reformation, though there is a slight hope that some old manuscripts are still hidden in some library.

In our work the legend or *narracio* is preceded by the homily, a sermon which is kept in very plain terms. Its subject is taken from the gospel with interpolated paraphrases. This portion is interpreted according to the works of some father of the Church and is followed by a final application to the hearer. As it is even nowadays the custom in many pulpits to read off the sermon from

a manuscript or some printed collection of sermons, our sermons were read off too and if this example was copied by some other neighbouring churches, we have a clue to the wish of having written homiliaries, especially when going to be read out in verse to the people to induce them to come to church, as I l 282/85 \*

For Christ him seluen telles hou  
He sal cum than and wit quat miht  
In our godspel to day sefniht,  
And qua sa wil that godspel her . . .

or ad Dom. III. Adv. l. 267:

. And I to dai fourtenniht tald . . . . .

or page 28 after the Latin version of the XV signa:

Isti versus omittantur a lectore quando legit  
Anglicum coram laycis.

The whole collection was meant for the people as our poet says in the Prologue v. 61—65.

Forthi wil I of my pouert  
Schau sum thing that Ik haf in hert,  
On Ingelis tong that alle may  
Understand quat I wil say.

Our author even tells us in a general way in the prologue and then in the explanations of the Godspel often in a closer way the sources of his work, for he says Prol. l. 69—76

And bathe klerk and laued man  
Englis understand can  
That was born in Ingeland,  
And lang haues ben thar in wonand,

\* Small has given in his edition but the Latin titles of the homilies. For convenience' sake we beg the reader to do the numeration of the homilies and lines in the following manner.

	Prologus	168 lines		VII. in Epiph. Dom.	308 lines
I. Dom. I Adv.	294	»		VIII. Dom. infra Oct. Epiph.	286 »
II. Dom. II Adv.	287	»		IX. Dom. I post Oct. Epiph.	162 »
III. Dom. III Adv.	318	»		X. Dom. II p. O. E.	186 »
IV. Dom. IV Adv.	318	»		XI. Dom. III p. O. E.	258 »
V. In Natio.	80	»		XII. Dom. IV p. O. E.	186 »
VI. Dom. infra Oct. Nat.	504	»		XIII. in Purif. Beat. Mar.	460 »



Bot al men can noht, I wis,  
Understand Latin and Frankis,  
Forthi me think almous it isse  
To wirke sum god thing on Inglisse.

Our author often tells the hearer or reader that he wishes to say in English what the lay brother would not understand in Latin or French. The Latin lessons of the day, he says

Opon Inglis wil Ic undo (Prol. l. 97) or  
For wil Ic on Inglis schau  
And ger our laued brether knawe,  
Quat alle tha godspelles saies,  
That falles tille the sunnendayes (Pr. 109 ff.).

Our collection of homilies is, I am sorry to say, but the fragment of such a series of homilies, which by some reason or other was left such as it came down to our time. May be that the writer died or left off his copy before having finished it or that the continuation was lost in the religious and political troubles of after-times. As far as I can judge from the style of writing and the rhymes we have but one author for our 13 homilies though the case may be quite a different one for the complete collections where every Sunday of the ecclesiastical year gets its homily. Our manuscript, though from the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, is by no means the original, but one of the numerous more or less complete copies of the original collection. The extant mss. are:

Edin. Royal Coll. of Phys.	{	carefully described in Small's preface p. XI—XXII.
Ashmol. 42		
Cbr. Univ. Libr. Gg. V. 31	{	
Lamb. 260		
Philipps 8122		
Cbr. Dd. I, 1		
Ms. Harl. 2381		
		described by Horstmann in Altengl. Leg. neue Folge p. LXIV—LXXI

The Latin legendary from which the original collection — as yet unknown or altogether lost — was translated, has not been discovered. Two of the mss. however,

as ours does too, point to a Latin or French collection, for Lamb. 260 bears as title to the Prologue . . . «in anglia edicionem translatus» and also in Dd at the end of the ms. we find the notice «in lingua anglicana». These remarks seem to prove that a well-known Latin or French collection of such homilies with legends was first translated into English by a well-taught man. This English translation was taken as a basis by the younger collections for their copies, altering now and then the order of the original, adding new tales or leaving out the one or the other, as Horstmann shows in the description of the mss. The Latin collections were either used for the Church service of the monasteries or for reading in the refectories during or after the meals as the Latin verses inserted in hom. II p. 27 prove.

There are no allusions whatever to political events of that day except some of a very vague character, cf. Dom. II Adv. l. 57 or III. l. 197—204.

Therefore we cannot base the dating of ms. upon external evidences, but the internal are strong enough to throw some light upon the probable date of the original.

Horstmann, N. F. 1881 says p. LVII. that «about the middle of the 13<sup>th</sup> century the French influence begins to advance to the north making up for the lost time with such vigour, that very soon the language was filled with words of Romance origin. In this process the dropping of the terminations, which began very early in the north, was of great help in the amalgamation of the foreign element».

The influence of the French spirit and language is met with in a great number of works of that time and the crown of that whole religious and literary activity which awoke about the latter half of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, in the north of England, is the Cursor Mundi and somewhat later Hampole's works. Though some have tried to attribute our homilies to Hampole, a but slight examination of the two styles proves at once, that they cannot be by the same author. e. g. in our text we have often the use

of ger and gar Prol. l. 8, 50, 110; Explic. Prol. 17; Dom. I Adv. 99, 159, 163, 168, 261, etc. etc., which as far as I have seen do not occur in Hampole's works.

Comparing the passage l. 372—927 in Hampole's *Pricke of Conscience* given in Mätzener's *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I state the following differences from the *Metrical Homilies*.

Hampole always writes gh where we have only h.

wroght, broght, dight, right (Me. Ho. wroht, broht, diht, riht).

Instead of qu he writes wh

whan, when, what, whar, whether, til wham (quan, quen, quat, quar, quether, til quaim).

Hampole always uses the genetive with s, whilst in our M. hom. we often meet the genetive without s, e. g.

of mans kynde, a mans flesshe, to mans syght, for mans fude, but M. H.

XI. 188 of this man sin XI. 61 cristen man praier VII. 269

X. 136 til hisse maister hous VIII. 40 in mi fader nedes

VIII. 116 of that man liuelad IX. 67 in our Lefdi bodi

X. 168; X. 177; XII. 8; XII. 12;

Besides I quote the following forms in Hampole, the forms in brackets being those of the *Metr. Hom.*

thurg (thoru); agayne, ogayne (igain); oway (awai); omang (imang); aftir (efter); yhit. (yet); if (yef, ef); swa (sa, sua); alswa (als); tharfor (forthi); sho (scho); tham (thaim); yhe, yhou (ye, you); ther, thar (thar); be na way (bi nangat); eghen (éyen); woman, weman (womman); pl. women (wimmen); wam (wamb); buke, boke (boc); world (werld, werd); hundreth (honderet); sal-tow, er-tow (sal thou, ert (es) thou); tuk (toc); shepe (shenshepe, wor-shepe); scip (scenscip, worscip). etc. etc.

This comparison of the two dialects might be carried out in a more thorough way, but it would take us away from the task we have set ourselves.

In the « *Contes Moralises de Nicole Bozon* edited by Smith and Meyer » for the *Société des anciens textes français* we find on page LIII the following statement:



« Peu à peu l'usage de la langue à la mode (le français) se répandait en dehors des familles normandes qui ne s'étaient guère mises en peine d'apprendre l'anglais, si bien qu'au commencement du XIV<sup>e</sup> siècle le français était bien près de devenir le langage commun de toute l'Angleterre (sic!). Nous avons sur ce point un témoignage assez précis. Un historien qui écrivait aux environs de 1350 dans un comté du Nord-Ouest de l'Angleterre, Ranulph Higden, constate avec un certain étonnement, peut-être même avec regret, l'état d'abandon et de corruption dans lequel était tombé l'anglais, et il l'attribue à cette circonstance que les enfants étaient astreints dans les écoles, depuis le temps de la conquête à traduire le latin en français » . . . . . « Les habitants de campagnes voulant leur ressembler pour avoir l'air plus respectable, s'appliquent de toutes leurs forces à parler français (*francigenare*). Et ici on constate avec surprise que la langue naturelle et propre des Anglais, renfermée dans les limites de l'île, offre d'infinies variétés de prononciation, tandis que la langue des Normands, venue de dehors, est à peu de chose près, partout la même. »

Entrant ensuite dans quelques détails sur les variétés de l'anglais qu'il propose de ramener à trois dialectes, il dit que cette langue reste à peine en usage chez un petit nombre de gens sans culture « *de praedicta quoque lingua Saxonica trepartita que in paucis adhuc agrestibus vix remansit* » . . . .

That this opinion of Higden († 1363) who was a Benedictine monk at St. Werburgh in Chester in 1299 and whose latest date in his « *Polychronicon* » comes up to the year 1342, is not just, may be seen by the works of contemporary writers. Hampole who died in 1349 and whose greatest activity falls into the very period Higden speaks of in these terms, makes use of a fair amount of Romance words, but his language is yet English and if French had been in such a degree the language *à la mode*, he would have used more French words. On an average I get in the *Pricke of Conscience* 110—120 Romance



words in 500 short lines, but they are different from those used in our Metr. Hom. and look much more French e. g. bataylle, chaungeable, parfit . . .

The edition of Small is not printed from one single ms. (the Eding. Roy. Coll. of Phys.); as this latter contains some gaps, the missing lines were supplied from Cbr. Ms. Gg. V. 31 for Hom. V. 81—VI. 80 and from Ashm. Ms. 42 for VI. 81—240. In hom. XIII the lines 374—460 are again printed from Cbr. Ms. Gg. V. 31. As we want to fix the amount of Romance words in the Edin. Ms., we skip the supplied passages. I have now compared the vocabulary of Romance words occurring in our homilies with those of the Cursor Mundi. If according to the researches of Dr Heyse in the E. E. T. S. original series 101, the Cursor is to be fixed between 1254—90, we may draw a conclusion for the probable date of the composition of our Homilies from the use of Romance words, for if the Cursor very quickly became such a popular book, the people must have understood it and were therefore familiar with the sense of the French words. I therefore compare first the amount of Romance words of some passages of the Cursor with that found in our homilies, then I try to find out which of the Romance words of the Metr. Hom. are not to be found in the Cursor or only in the latter part, then I inquire by the help of dictionaries whether they were already used before in English literature and which words are met with in the English language for the first time in our collection.

By investigation I found in the Cursor  
Cotton Ms (as the oldest) in l. 271— 770 136 Romance words

l. 5000— 5500	119	»	»
l. 13992—14500	104	»	»
l. 16200—16700	120	»	»
l. 17500—18000	142	»	»
l. 19000—19518	158	»	»
l. 27876—28382	176	»	»
l. 29000—29500	220	»	»

Our homilies contain the Romance words in the following proportion

in the Prologue we find to 168 lines 34 Romance words  
in hom. I (Dom. I Adv.) » 294 » 69 » »

(of which 9 times sain)

» II (Dom. II Adv.) » 287 » 65 Romance words  
(of which 5 times pouer  
and 6 times prai, prayed)

» III (Dom. III Adv.) » 318 » 88 Romance words  
(of which 37 times sain)

» IV (Dom. IV Adv.) » 318 » 112 Romance words  
(of which 21 times sain)

» V (in Nativit. Dom.) 80 » 32 Romance words  
(lines 81—348 are taken from C. Ms.  
Gg. V. 31 and contain 79 Rom. words)

» VI (Dom. infra Oct. Nativit.) l. 1—80 from Gg. V. 31  
contain 17 Rom. words  
l. 81—240 from Ash. 42  
contain 58 Rom. words

(l. 241—504) i. e in 263 lines 96 »

» VII (in Epiphania Dom.) in 308 lines 63 »  
(of which 14 times charité  
7 times prophecy  
6 times mirr)

» VIII (Dom. infra Oct. Epiphaniae) in 286 lines 58 R. w.  
(of which 13 times sain)

» IX (Dom. prima post Oct. Epiph.) in 162 lines 40 R. w.  
(of which 6 times spoused,  
5 times sain)

» X (Dom. II post Oct. Epiph.) in 186 lines 59 R. w.  
(of which 10 times leper,  
7 times maister)

» XI (Dom. III post Oct. Epiph.) in 258 lines 89 R. w.  
(of which 9 times prai,  
8 times catel)

» XII (Dom. IV post Oct. Epiph.) in 186 lines 60 R. w.  
(of which 14 times hermit  
8 times abbai)

in hom. XIII (in Purif. Beatae Mariae) in 373 lines 98 R. w.

l. 374—460 supplied from Ms. Gg. V. 31 contain 45 R. w.

This would give us for the 3488 lines of the Edin. Ms. 963 Romance words. We get therefore for

the Cursor Mundi in 4000 lines 1175 R. w. = 29 %  
the Edin. Ms. of Metr. Hom. for 3488 lines 963 R. w. = 28 %  
the passages from Ms. Gg. V. 31

and Ash. 42 593 lines 199 R. w. = 34 %  
as compared with the verse lines.

It this comparison has any validity, this would speak for an older age of our homilies than the year 1325, as it has been taken up till now.

We notice from about line 17000 in the Cursor a marked increase of Romance words, which may also be illustrated by the following list of words which are find all in our Metr. Hom. I am relying in this list upon the Glossary to the Cursor published by Dr Max Kaluza in the E. E. T. S. original series 99. I mention only words occurring in the Cursor from about. l. 10000 and give them in the spelling found in the Metr. Hom.

abbai	Cursor Mundi	24958
abbot	»	24798
acount	»	21424; 23890; 26730
afere	»	11962; 19965
amount	»	21423
assoil	»	26155; 29373
auise	»	15745; 15917
boystes	»	14003
cerge	»	20701; 21313
chapell	»	27198

chalance Cotton & Gött. read pliht, Trin gult, only Fairf. chalaunge l. 4621, 6204 Fairf., other Mss. forther; 6714 Cot. oncall, other Mss. chalance; it is only in l. 19148 & 28766 that all Mss. read chalaunge; from this we may conclude that the word was unknown either to the writer or to the people for whom Ms. Cotton had been copied and that it came to be used only in the latter part of the work.

chamberlain 10432; 24713  
clause 25238  
clerge 21615; 27251  
cloister 27241; closterer 27172  
company 4009 Fairfax, other mss. folk; 23097 Trin., other  
mss. felauscip  
conscience 26747  
couent 18349; 24950  
curtaysi 13355; 24574  
deuocioun 28584  
deuote 29106, but not the adr. deuotely  
dettour 25110; 25399  
fended = defended 28851; Galba 29552  
honest 19850 according to Murray's Dict. for the first  
time 1330 Brune's Chron. 1340 R. R. de Hamp.  
lechour 28528, but often the subst. licherie  
mirour 23867; 25799  
martir 24311; but comp. martird 8924, 21186; martiring 9103  
member 23310; 27970  
nun 20111; 22028; 28390  
nurrisch 12337; 22111  
parochenis 29501; parochen priest 28429  
pleined = complained, Cotton quainid 10488, other mss.,  
playnyd, plande  
purgatorie 29165  
questioun 22891; 26104  
reul 2231 Fairfax, other mss. scantilon; 14374, 17454;  
21740  
ras = race, speed, haste Cotton 23588; 26732  
see = seat 2482, Cotton fee, other mss. see  
serganz 16283 (Cotton sergarnt); 16440  
sclaunder 13109; 27425; 27736  
simple Cotton once 13342; Göt. 13272, Galba 29397  
speciel 17626; 29221; 29972  
spense 28740, but already 4447 spenser = dispenser  
specerye (CM. spiceri) 23456  
symonye 27246; 27836  
tempest 6027



tresur 3246; tresurer 24672; tresorie Trin. 16537.

trace 25528.

trouage 22236.

vikar 29541 Galba vicare.

venge = to avenge 4326 Gött & Trin; Cot. & Fairf. have  
heven (Icel. hefna).

vestment 3701.

The following Romance words are not found in the Cursor, but according to Murray's or Stratman's Dictionaries they occur in works anterior to the Metr. Hom.; our Metr. Hom. are given as the earliest work, in which some of them occur.

atyr Lay. 1250; c. 1300 K. Alis.

ampolies Lay. 1205.

astronomi Lay. 1205; c. 1300 K. Alis.

deliuerance S. E. Leg., in the Cursor the verb is found  
several times.

devotely as adverb not found in the Cursor, according to  
Murray it is met with for the first time in our Met.  
Hom. (e. 1325) hom. XIII. 177.

dyspayr Murray gives our homilies as the oldest example  
(a. 1325).

erfermer (again this passage given as first instance hom.  
II. 185, 192), hom. XIII. 449, R. of Gl. p. 552.

fertered = enshrined (hom. XI. 230) Murray gives this as  
the oldest example (a. 1325).

gilri (in the Cursor but gile [sb], giled [p. p.]), S. A. L.  
hom. IV. 265, X. 112.

kache A. R.; Lay; Gen. & Ex. (Stratm.), but caught Cu.  
Mu. Trin. 14994, hom. XII. 156.

laser (leper) only 187 Fairfax, other mss. have a man  
unfere hom. X. 4. Langl. C. XIX. 273, Ch. C. T. A.  
245 (Stratm.).

matins Rel. Songs VII (a. 1225) Maning's Hist. of E. (a. 1330)  
(Stratm.) Prolog l. 37.

matirmonye Lang. C. III. 149. matermoin Hamp. Ps. 6  
(Stratm.) hom. IX. 62.

miscarye not given in Stratm. hom. VIII. 138.

nunry (in Cursor late nun) Po. & Li. Saints XXXV; Lay 15642; Met. Hom. (Strat). hom. VI. 105, 107 . . . . ; hom. XI. 230.

quarter Polit. So. E., Ch. C. T. D. 1963, hom. XI. 147.  
robed (in the Cursor not as verb, twice as subst.) hom. III. 191. Langl. C. XI. 1.

pendanz (membra genitalia) Langl. B. XV. 7 (in the sense of hanging ornament), Gaw. (a. 1360), hom. IV. 198.

pendize, pentiz (hom. V. 71 & 143) given in Stratm. as pentice Pr. P.

purely Rob. of Gl.; Langl A. v. 13; All. Poems (a. 1360) II. 1360. hom. V. 139 (from Gg. V. 31).

persayd (hom. V. 285) not found in Strat. (from Ms. Gg. V. 31).

prelacy (prelate in A. R.; Lay; Ayenb. Cu. Mu.) hom. X. 106.  
strange Rob. 16; Pr. P. 479 (Promptorium Parvulorum a. 1440), hom. XI. 55.

sermoner	}	in the Cursor the sermon, to sermon, sermoning hom. XII. 42. Stratm. not given, only sermon and vb. sermonen.
sarmoner		

subdeken (diacne Ayenb; Shor. 51; hom. I. 71, 81), Str. sudeakne Shor. hom. XIII. 200.

surplice Pr. P. 485; Alex. 1550. hom. XIII. 198.

sturion Hav, 753 (sturgiun) (Str.) hom. XI. 47.

tronchoun Pr. P. (Str.) hom. XIII, 237, 243, 245, 255.

vaiaage Rob. 4112; Man. 8840, hom. IV. 173, 180, 183, 226.  
venge XI. 74, Mand (F.), Will., Pro. Pa.

uayles (veil) A. R. 420; Gen. & Ex. 3616, hom. VI. 113, 118.

vicare only Galba 29541; Shorham (a. 1315), ho. VI. 348.

utrageous (in Cursor 5 times as subst.) Hampole Ps. before 1340, hom. VI. 380.

Out of 278 different Romance words met with in the Met. Hom. 32 are not found in the Cursor, though of 9 of them the Romance stem is found and further 2 words only in one manuscript of younger date.

*Metr. Hom.*

*Cursor Mundi.*

deliuerance	to deliver, deliuerd
deuotely	devote adj.
gilri	the gile, giled
kache	caught Trin. 14994 (other mss. laght)
laser	only Fairfax 187 (other mss. man unhele)
vikar	vicar only Galba 29541
nunry	nun
robed	the robe
prelacy	prelate
sermoner	the sermon, to sermon
utrageous	utrage, 5 times as subst.

The following Romance words not found at all in Cu. Mu. are mentioned in works proved to be anterior to 1300 a. D.

atyr, ampolis, astronomi, deliuerance, gilri, kache, matins, nunry, purely, strange, sturion, vaiage and vayles, i. e. 13 words.

According to Murray's Dictionary the following words are found here for the first time: deuotely, dyspayr, enfermer, fertered.

Our homilies are not given as the *oldest* source, but younger works mentioned in Stratm. Dict. for the following French words:

laser (Fairf. Cu. Mu. 187), matirmonie, quarter, pendanz, surplice, tronchoun, vicare, utrageons, subdeken, pendize.

In Stratman not given: cumand (custom, habit) IX. 36, ouertly (adv. openly) XI. 70, miscarye VIII. 139, persayd V. 285 and sermoner XII. 42.

If therefore we give the Cursor the latest date of 1290 for its first composition according to Hupe's researches, we may draw the following conclusions:

In the Cotton Ms (oldest Ms. of the Cursor Mundi) 32 Romance words used in the Metr. Hom. are not yet found, of 9 however the Romance stem (as verb or subst. or adj.) is known, which leaves 23 Romance stems not used at all in the Cursor; but of these 23 words ten are



met in works anterior to 1280 which leaves 13 new Romance words. Now I believe that in a time of great changes in the language of the North of England and French being thus à la mode with the learned people and eagerly caught up by the low classes, it was an easy thing to learn these few words between 1280 and 1300. From this point of view I feel inclined to put down the date of the first composition of our Metr. Hom. between 1290 and 1300 a. D.

The composition of our homilies falls into a period when the inflections were being dropped and the composer was at a loss in which case he had to keep on a final e and when to drop it. This is the case in the rhymes as well as in the body of lines, where exactly in the same case the word is spelt with e and a few lines further on without e. There are besides a lot of archaic rare words (forthi Ags. forthy, rohly, lām Ags. lām, mikel, warn Ags. wearnian to refuse, wattri Ags. aettren, oldest form attriy Orm. 9785, venemous, lathe Ags. lāth a. s. o. and a great number of (Icelandic-Danish), Northern words (skil Ic. skil), seer (Icel. sér), graithe (Icel. greitha), heri (Icel. herja), ró (Icel. ró), irk. (Swed. yrka), in ME found as adj., Mn E but as verb., bren (Icel. brenna), nefen (Icel. nefna), rapli (Icel. hrap), rife (Icel. rífr), nitte (Icel. níta), grate (Icel. gráta to weep), sîte sit VI. 440 (sb. care) (Icel. syta to care for, to be anxious; sytiligr careful, sût care, anxiety Fritzner), rad, radde afraid (Icel. hraeddr), slá (Ags. slean, Icel. slá), bing VII. 70 (Icel. bingr Sw. bing, a heap, Dan. bing a chest, bin), sisel occupied (Dan. syssel ON sysla occupation, labour) VIII. 120. XIII. 278, bain obedient (Icel. beinn), VII. 281 bón demand, prayer (Icel. bón Ags. bén), ithenly busy (Icel. ithinn) VIII. 38, lát (Icel. lát behaviour, look, gesture a. s. o.) besides the constant use of til, thar, thair, thir, thaim, thoh, ger, gers, gert etc. It would be interesting to look up all the Northern words and phrases found in our homilies to make it a special careful investigation.

The Ms. preserved at Edin. is not the original, though it is much better than the other mss. preserved in England.

The following list of words shows that the writer who copied these homilies spoke a dialect different from that of the composer :

hayr VI. 335, but hare I. 203 r. w. suare, 245 r. w. bare.  
feir VII. 188, else 3 times fer, ferr VIII. 107 r. w. godspeller.  
fais XI. 74, else fa, faas IV. 300.

baithe IV. 206. 280, else always bathe.

waire (wary) IV. 128 r. w. charre, without rhyme IV. 276.  
grai III. 202 r. w. thai, but III. 198 grá r. w. thá.

wair (as if he were) VI. 439.

laythe IV. 114 r. w. grathe (graithe to prepare) layth XI.  
161, else láthe loath.

warld VII. 116, else continually werld, werd.

holp XIII. 287 sb. help.

sho IX. 139, else scho.

ur I. 127; IV. 245; IX. 151, else our.

her I. 154, 203, 245, else always hir.

thas XI. 236, else tha.

thu Prol. 23, else thou.

them V. 17, 15; VI. 388; VIII. 20, else thaim.

iucl VI. 343; VIII. 218; XII. 7. else il, ill.

gon we IV. 238, else imper. ga!

stud (pt. t. 3 p. s. VII. 179), else stod.

thou ert IV. 27, 179, else thou es.

an other est I. 136 instead of es or is.

gun scho gret I. 200, otherwise gan I. 170; II. 24, 241,  
245; III. 36.

wil to IV. 208 (so. Version woltou), but sal thou IX. 30.

sud I. 218, sudd I. 238; sold XIII. 40, 45, elsewhere al-  
ways suld (Morris Spec. I. XLIII).

wad IV. l. 73, elsewhere wald.

after Prol. 34, else efter.

yf Prol. 57, if II. 282, VII. 196, XI. 74, otherwise always  
yef or ef.

har IV. 275, instead of her.

wy IV. 231, so. Vers. omits it, elsewhere quy.

suile XIII. 241, instead of slic (slic comes from Icel. slikr  
Swed. slik), sly VII. 12; VIII. 151.

op XII. 20 instead of up, but we often find opon with apon.

I am inclined to attribute to the more Southern writer also the forms with an unetymological h, as haht I. 229 (owed 3 s. pt. t.) Ags. ágan; haht (sb. property) II. 65 Ags. áeht Goth. aihts (and this word stands here in a passage which is full of alliteration, II. l. 43—66 contain not less than 17 alliterative lines); habout III. 282; habad = abode XIII. 78, but in l. 213 we find again abade. There is one instance, where h is missing, aued Prol. l. 130 stands for haued.

A comparison with the Glossary of the Swaledale Dialect (Northern Yorkshire) published by the English Dialect Society 1873 Series C leads me to the supposition that our writer who copied these homilies at a later period, came from the northern part of Yorkshire to Northumberland and copied there the homilies or this may have been done in his own county. I only mention aither, baith, hing (to hang up XIII. 357 fra hinging), kink (to cough, whoop VI. 243 r. w. think), sud (pt. t. of shall) which we have met with twice, wad for wald (would).

It is an interesting fact that in our 3500 lines we find but two infinitives in —en.

fallen VII. 39 and quenen X. 61 Ags. cwanian (to languish, to torment; this latter instance is even rhyming with heuin); all the other infinitives are either spelt with —e or this —e is dropped e. g. tak I. 77 or take I. 133, mak XIII. 133, make Prol. 119, telle Pr. 165, tel. I. 2, ris VI. 492, rise II. 49 etc. (Morris Spec. I. XLII).

The following emendations which prove that the Edin. Ms. is but a copy, may be of some help to the reader. I. l. 128 «fra» is to be struck out as unnecessary. The writer expected perhaps «fra pin' or 'fra soru' as it was two lines before, wrote fra by mistake and forgot to strike it out afterwards.

I. l. 239 'you havid' is to be changed into, thou hauis'; the tense would be wrong, the southern Version reads thou hast and besides three lines further on Christ speaks to him as' bedd thou', cp. also I. 247 and III. 141 instead of you read thou.



II. l. 285 instead of 'to wind' read 'to wend'.

III. l. 27 eftand must be read 'eft and' comp. IX. 146 & X. 97.

IV. l. 70 is supplied by Small from another ms; it is necessary for the rhyme and was skipped by our copyist or was already missing in the original he copied from.

IV. l. 125 in our ms. unfinished, completed by Small from another ms.

IV. 231 'wy' is an addition of the copyist, So. Vers. omits it altogether. The original composer would have written 'qui'.

IV. 255 as it stands in Small the rhyme is missing, but by reading 'worthi penance' we get the rhyme with meschanz, as the So. Vers. reads properly.

The numerous gaps and besides grammatical variances as we shall see below, induce us to suppose that the ms. from which the Edin. hand copied this fourth homily, was also done in a careless way or that by some reason or other it was unreadable and thus the copyist was influenced in a higher degree by his own dialect than it is the case in the other homilies. I don't think that the tenure of this homily can induce us to suppose that another man altogether wrote this fourth homily.

VI. l. 353 mananced was misread by the copyst for manaced, So. Vers. reads manasede.

l. 367 for chanded read changed, So. Vers. chaunged.

VII. l. 24 instead of 'and' read 'a'.

l. 35 add the definite article 'the' which was overlooked at the side of he.

l. 39 change 'bete' into 'fete'.

l. 114 read 'a' for 'and'.

VIII. l. 4 read 'wones' for 'wodes' which gives no sense.

l. 71 change 'man' into 'men'.

IX. l. 91. I should like to insert 'and' between 'nethir' and 'mar' as there is a syllable wanting. Mätzner in his Sprachpr. p. 280 explains it as 'further below', but the sense 'as lower and higher man may find' is as clear.

X. l. 65/66 seem to be wrong, as the end of the Gospel of the day is in l. 72 where the expression is repeated in very similar terms. However it is possible that the original composer put it down too early and forgot to cross these two lines.

Mätz. Sprachpr. p. 283 gives no note to it.

X. 157 read helid or heled instead of held.

XI. 121 the rhyme thralle is to be changed into threlle r. w. catelle as the O Northumb. thræel is Icel. thræll.

l. 237 a syllable is missing, So. Vers. has 'ow' after tald, therefore we add 'you' for our text.

XII. l. 44 instead of 'schawes' read 'sawes' which gives the better sense cp. l. 48. sau.

XII. l. 100 read better instead of 'and' to as the So. Vers.

l. 75 on himsele — this forme is not found in the other homilies, So. Vers. reads on him fele, perhaps Small mistook s for f.

l. 102 read faanded instead of faand (he tried), else a syllable is missing and So. Vers. reads fondede cp. XIII. 310.

l. 105 instead of 'and' read 'he' as So. Vers.

XIII. l. 36 for forfille read folfille cp. XI. 189.

l. 156 seems defective, the copyist read seyht for feyht.

l. 158 read for 'wreth' better leth as in l. XII. 65. (Stratm. laththe, Mätz leththe.)

l. 204 change 'thair' into 'thar'.

l. 269 read birht for birth r. w. mirht.

l. 309 not envoye, but envye, as So. Vers. shows rhyming with ithenlye.

Some of the mistakes make the impression as if the copyist had been writing sometimes by dictation and that he misunderstood it e. g. schawes, forfille, and, bete, man for sawes, folfille, a, fete, men . . . A careful comparison with the other existing mss. might show other interesting facts of this kind.

## Grammatical remarks.

The plural of the subst. is formed by addition of *s* or *es*: *tre tres*, *felle felles*, *fises fisches*, *felauf felau*, *sunnenday*, *sunnendayes*.

There are even a good many plurals in *-is* e. g. *this takenis* II. 97, *paroschenis* VI. 327, *rekelis* VII. 72, 73, but *rekeles* VII. 75, *reclis* 278; *bemis*, *burwis*, *decipelis* XI. 4, *prophetis*, *armis*, *dohteris* . . . Notice the sing. a *smerlis* (an ointment) VII. 78.

The plural of leaf of a tree is *lefes* II. 25 and *leues* II. 94, of thef *theues* VIII. 155.

There are the following irregular plurals:

*scho* IV. 44 pl. *schon* r. w. *don* I. 39; *eyen* (Ags. *éagan*) I. 202; XIII. 97; *tha fern* X. 6 (cp. *Mätz. Spr.* p. 282) as pl. to *fere* = companion.

*with vowel change*: *teth* (Ags. *téth.*) X. 64; *fet* I. 246, 248, *men* Prol. 100, *wimmen* I. 159, XIII. 307, 318, 371, with *y* V. 54; *hend* VIII. 97 (OS *handi*. Icel. *hendr*) besides *hendes* XIII. 238 and *handes* V. 19 r. w. *bandes*; *childer* VII. 48 (*seuin schor* thousand *childer*) v. *Mätz.* I. 240.

*Plurals without s*: *sun* VII. 167 Ags. pl. *sun* cp. *Morris Gen.* and *Exod.* XIX. *thir hyne* XII. 13 Ags. gen. *hína* cp. *Skeat Dict.* *hind*). *thinge* Prol. 114, VII. 102, 122; *al his frend* IV. 162 r. w. *wend* (Ags. pl. *fréond*, *frynd*); *brether* Prol. 110, XIII. 159 besides *al the brother* XII. 87 (Ags. n. pl. *brôther*); of *alle metal* VII. 67 (perhaps influenced by Latin *metalla*) of the *fendes bande* I. 152, 162, XII. 27 corresp. to German pl. *die Bande*); in *ser contre* and *â hiht* VIII. 1 r. w. *Galile*.

Genitive is formed by *-s* or *-es*, sometimes even *-is* *Goddessun*, *Cristes com*, the *fendes bande*, the *childes norz*, *igain the Jowes wrangwisnes*, for *laued mannes sake*, in *mennes hertes* XII. 35 but *heuenis blis* Pr. 107 *Goddiss* . . . Our author shows a great tendency to use terminations with *i* besides *e*, e. g. *ensampil* VIII. 284, *tempil* VIII. 277 *passim*, *fetil* XI. 168 *nakid* IV. 135, XI. 194, *werid* IV. 149.



without -s e. g.:

in the fader nam I. 6 (influenced by Ags. gen. of faeder) his brother wif III. 94, man bodi III. 218; Jesus Crist messenger III. 265, but cp. I. 269, the bischop messe VI. 398 Balaam kin VII. 166, but v. l. 150 of that man liuelad VIII. 116. The same remarks given by Hupe p. 178 apply also to our homilies and prove that Hampole's works which always employ the gen. with s, are much younger. Cp. Morris Gen., Exod. XXIV.

The strong form of the adjective and the weak one are no longer to be distinguished with any certainty, as besides some correct examples of the old weakened inflections there are such a lot of exceptions, that it is of little use to look up this problematic question.

As there was no standard spelling in the middle English period, the pronunciation however was passing through the different changes which have produced modern English, it must have often been a matter of great difficulty to the writer to give to a sound, vowel or consonant, the fully adequate letter. Thus we find cristen VIII. 282, XI. 61 . . . .; but cresten Pr. 126, I. 148, VII. 269 . . . , siker I. 142, but seker II. 88, 282 . . . , sek II. 193, 204, VI. 345, wik (= wicked) I. 278, II. 157, wikke III. 107 . . . , wikednes VI. 318, wikkenes IX. 149, but wekkednes XII. 64. The same observation where short i and e must have sounded almost alike as in modern English, may be made by the rhymes thrid/red VIII. 273, kirc/werc VIII. 211, XI. 31, heued/weuid III. 165, heuin/nefen II. 176, heuin/euen I. 5 . . . Our author uses ill and euil both as adj. and adv. *ill* as adj. in VI. 422, 462 r. w. tille. VIII. 111, IX. 142; as adv. IV. 258, VI. 243, VII. 14. iuel as adj. in VIII. 218, XII. 7, but as adv. in VI. 343 iuel payed (= ill pleased).

Our author also knows the subst. adj. for the neuter gender e. g. the god that Godd hauis gert him knau Prol. 50, but also to denote the whole class e. g. the rich and the pouer VII. 87.





*The regular comparison* is done by addition of -er and -est to the positive degree:

lauer (lower) II. 115 — stithe I. 113, stithest XII. 162; adv. VI. 482, 485; richest VII. 68 — lang VI. 273; langer IV. 273 — hey II. 65, hey stret IV. 124, 132, heyer II. 108, heier III. 229 — waiker V. 32, IX. 50, leuer II. 150 thaim war leuer — strangest IX. 48, the sarest (adv.) II. 58.

The Mn. E. very, most before an adj. is expressed by «ful»: ful liht XI. 144, ful pouer XI. 160, ful gern XI. 220, ful wel III. 303.

*The irregular comparison* is seen in the following adj.:

(Ags. gód, bettra, betst) a god man III. 301; a better man VI. 481; the best win IX. 52; the bern best in halle IX. 42.

*Adv.* better IV. 59, VI. 384 . . . best Pr. 83 . . .

(Ags. micel mára adv. má, máest) al the mikel water of Temis IX. 137; IV. 196; VIII. 279, 280 . . . mar trouth X. 48; of mare (by superiors) XI. 51; *adv.* mikel III. 254, wel mar adv. VI. 289, wel mar, adj. VI. 290, 317.

The contracted form ma is also found in II. 177, III. 48, VII. 47 . . . mast is used as adj. in his mast thouht Pr. 27, he havid mast miht V. 31, XIII. 325 r. w. stede-fast, and as adv. almost VI. 308, XI. 182. The expression mar and lesse is a favourite turn of our author Pr. 91; II. 175, III. 43 . . . The expression nethir mare IX. 91 is perhaps better read as nethir and mare as a syllable is wanting in the line and the sense lower and higher men fits the passage very well.

There is one instance of the use of mar before the positive degree of an adj. to express the comparative: mar worthe IV. 62.

The adj. ill and iuel (I have never found bad) forms the comp. wer (Icel. verre, Ags. wýrsa). Now am I wel wer VI. 293 and for Ic es werr man VI. 414. To the positive litel Pr. 55 . . . we get the comp. lesse besides in the above mentioned expression 'mar and less' in II. 115 wel lesse III. 116 he sinned les, XI. 49 the lesse (= the

inferiors) superl. bi the lest idel thoht II. 272, the lestes blodes drop VI. 314.

The adj. ner (near) III. 279 r. w. messenger, II. 27 r. w. maner and the adv. ner II. 20 (adv. nerhand II. 98) has the superl. 'thar nest' XIII. 201 r. w. prest.

The adverbial expression 'at the last' is found in IV. 291, V. 33. 'First' is used as adj. in I. 49, 135, V. 5, 24 . . . , as adv. e. g. in IV. 9. In I. 147 at the first has the sense of «for the first time». The other comparisons by 'the . . . the', or 'than' preceded by a comparative, 'both . . . and' in the sense of «as well as» are the same as in modern English and go back to Ags. use.

## Pronouns.

*I. Personal Pronoun:* The pers. pron. of the first pers. sing. is I before consonants, Ic before vowels and h, but sometimes we find also I before a vowel, as in Pr. 61, 122, I. 41, IV. 33, VI. 283, once I before 'h' in VIII. 205 I her. Ic is once used before a consonant 'herd Ic mani' II. 236. Three times it is spelt Ik Pr. 62, I. 222 & 157. The acc. is 'me', also the dat. as well as for the prepositional cases. Notice the form me think Pr. 75, I. 47, 60 . . . corresponding to Mn. Engl. methinks cp. Mätzner I. 360.

2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. thou (once Pr. 23 thu) has the acc. 'the', used also to form the other cases. There is once the form wil to (wilt thou) in IV. 208 and once hauis tou VIII. 34.

3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. masc. nom. he, acc. him. Twice we find hime as acc. Pr. 164 and VIII. 162 r. w. time, and once in hime IX. 56 with the same rhyme. As the final -e in the rhymes is mute, it was put by the writer to make the rhyme with 'time' look better, for we often find tim r. w. him III. 253, IV. 267, V. 11 . . .

3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. fem. is scho (once sho IX. 139) acc. hir I. 154, 168, 171, 217 . . . , dat. hir I. 249, 254, III. 136 . . . There is once the prepositional form til her I.

167. In hom. IX. where the relationship between Christ and our soul is compared with man and wife, the author gives the soul the fem. gender comp. l. 79 ff.

The *neuter* has 'it' for nom. and acc. (ite XI. 54, itt IX. 18 and itte (acc.) r. w. witte Pr. 18). But the prepositional cases of 'it' are formed as in German darauf, darin, dazu . . . by thar inne I. 109, II. 42 . . . thar of II. 111, IX. 158 thar for XI. 171, tharwit XI. 128, thar to XI. 163, thar bye IV. 122. 'It' is also used for the mod. Engl. 'there' in it was I. 226, IV. 159. In VIII. 142 there is an inconsistency in the pron. it and him, it should be changed into him as the So. Version Vernon reads.

The *first pers. pl.* is the same as in mod. English we, us.

*2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pl.* nom. is ye, but we find also you wrongly as nom. in I. 239, 247 and III. 141, for these three examples may just as well be read as thou. The dictating monk or the copyist read instead of 'th' a 'y', or it may be a mistake in the copy of Small. Cp. acc. you in I. 41, 44, IV. 20, 35, 36, XI. 238 and also dat. you in I. 2, 257, II. 33, 101, 266 . . .

The *3<sup>rd</sup> pers. pl.* is found in the form thai, now and then as thay Pr. 89, 103; I. 68, II. 89 . . . thaye once in XIII. 109, they VI. 485. Acc. is thaim as well as the dat. Pr. 44. I. 23, 233 . . . , but the form 'them' is met with in V. 15, 17 as acc., VI. 388 as dat. and VIII. 20 as fra them.

The *possessive adjective* is *my* or *mi* used with about equal frequency, no mind whether before vowel or consonant. 'min' without seeming reason is found in I. 242, 246, 248; IX. 27; but in III. 146 it stands before 'asking' which begins with a vowel X. 26 min hous . . . *thi* in thi seke sergant X. 21 efter thi liknes Pr. 16 . . . , but thin heling X. 16, thin almous XI. 164; *his* sau Pr. 82, his witte Pr. 22, alle his thoht Pr. 32 . . . *hir* fleyse I. 81, til hir hert I. 153 hir maidenhed I. 161 . . . , but in I. 154, 203, 245 and IX. 9 we get the form *her*: her hare, her heuid (head). The neuter form 'its' is not found in



our text. *Our* is the usual form, but we get 'ur' in ur Lauerd I. 127, ur Leuedye IV. 245 and IX. 155. *Your* biing II. 19 your pris II. 19 . . . thair bedde (prayer) Pr. 100 thair sermoun I. 66 . . . by mistake thar XI. 232 as the So. Vers. has heore, but it can also simply mean 'God gives blind men there sight', in the instance X. 53 thar wantrauth is certainly for thair.

Of the *possessive pronouns* there are but the following three examples:

he es mine IV. 213 and 225 (2<sup>nd</sup> time without -e) and al that war his I. 123.

The *emphatic* I myself, you yourself . . . is seen in I me self es noht worthi I. 38, IV. 42, Ic am seluen IV. 87 or himself in VII. 225 als himself bers god witnes or sin (= since) him seluen moht noht com til heuin VII. 227, I. 199, 282, XIII. 201 Jesu seluen XI. 6.

The *reflexive pronoun* is found in two forms, one without self and the other compound with self.

The usual form is the same as the pers. pron.

me = myself II. 198 hard fêl I me.

the = thyself X. 13 loc that thou the schaw.

him = himself (dat.) I. 81 (acc.) II. 196. IV. 59. 63 he roses him (he prides him) self X. 88. bi him ân XII. 72 (by himself alone).

hir = herself XIII. 40. 317 bot fair scho bar hir or scho umthot hir I. 169.

us = ourselves II. 282 if we schrif us clen VIII. 89. IV. 77. 103..

thaim = themselves Pr. 78 hou thai mai yem thaim I. 29, VI. 350 (thai) pleined thaim (complained).

The less frequent form is that combined with self me self haf I schent VI. 419.

thou schued the self XIII. 102 of the self XI. 195.

thou hauis thi seluen slan IV. 193.

he did himseluin scham IV. 196, he cald him self II. 21 cp. IV. 218. 286. 230; XI. 131 . . . hir rewed of hir self I. 171.

us self (acc.) II. 156, us seluen (acc.) XIII. 127 we offer  
us seluen; of us self haf we noht bot sin I. 145. 269,  
XIII. 123.

thaim seluen kann thai ken VIII. 73.

The *demonstrative pronoun* is used in the forms  
sing. this pl. thir (of northern origin cp. Mätz. I. 323,  
Morris Allit. Poems p. VI, note 2) this gaste Pr. 17  
this werk Pr. 120; al thir wormes XI. 213, thir  
wimmen I. 134, thir tua I. 235, thir bernis II. 51,  
thir takenis II. 97 . . . notice 'and tis tal' IV. 263.

that (Ags. thaet) plur. tha (Ags. thā) e. g. that worthi  
drihte Pr. 11. that blis I. 24. I. 187 . . . al tha banes  
XI. 227, tha thre dayes VIII. 228, alle tha godspelles  
Pr. 111. XII. 85 . . . . Once we get the form thas  
(Ags. thās pl. of thés) thas banes XI. 236. Corresponding  
to Mn E 'those who' we get 'tha that' in III. 197 tha  
that er cled or XIII. 275 tha that turnes.

Notice the contractions herof II. 222; IX. 71 & herbi  
III. 209, X. 81, standing for of this, by this. 'That' some-  
times refers to the whole preceding sentence or idea as  
in I. 179. II. 59 . . .

The pron. yon (Ags. yon Goth. jains) is to be found  
but once in XII. 152 at yon abbaye.

Mn E. this very = lat. idem is expressed by ilk, e. g.  
this ilk werk Pr. 118 this ilc Mary I. 183 . . . . I could  
get no instance of Goth. sama = idem which is found  
as dem. pron. in Orm.

The *relative pronoun* is usually 'that' for persons  
and things.

a) that = who Pr. 7. 12. 67. 71. 85 . . .  
= whom II. 15. IV. 56

he who is rendered by 'he that' Pr. 54. VII. 112, 248.  
III. 74. V. 5 . . .

dat. he to whom by he quaym I. 237.

acc. he whom by he quaim X. 85.

b) that = which Pr. 42. 47. 50. 59. 77 . . . .

Often 'that' as relat. pron. would answer the Mn E

'that which', e. g. III. 272 he scheued that he bihet III. 276. XI. 68. XIII. 224.

Of the Mn E relative stem 'who' we get one instance as nom. eg. IV. 297 qua deyes in that prison, his sawel es broht = Mn E the soul of him who dies . . . .

Yet the form qua sa (Mn E whosoever) is to be seen in the following examples: Pr. 51, I. 285, IV. 295, V. 56, VIII. 97, XII. 89, XIII. 357. (So. Version has hos XIII. 357 or hose XII. 89.)

We have seen that the rel. pron. 'that' can signify who and whom, acc. quaim is found in XIII. 323 til hir quaim scho hafd fedde, the prepos. cases however are formed by the use of 'quaim' e. g.

of quaim I. 55 of quaym I. 211. 237. III. 304 . . . .

bifor — V. 24; thoru — III. 255; in — IX. 144.

'What' in the sense of 'that which' is often made use of as quat Pr. 64. 104. 111, I. 220, III. 200 . . . .

One instance is to be found of Mn E which Ags. hwile II. 274/5 We sal bye the sines dere of quilke we er noht schriuen.

Mn E whatever or whatsoever is rendered by quat sa III. 129 quat sa thou wil, thou ask.

VII. 221 quat god sa he biddes us do, bousom we au to be.

XI. 141 quat als euer he askes the, gif him.

The *interrogative* pron. who, what is used in direct and indirect sentences as adj. or substantified.

Qua is used as nom. in XIII. 365 qua was wrathe bot that bischop.

quas = whose in I. 233 for quas sake.

quaim = to whom in XIII. 320 quaim scho moht . . . say.

Quat (lat. quid) II. 172 quat sal thay say III. 189, IV. 9, IX. 12, X. 138.

quat (lat. qui quae quod) as adj. in I. 223, III. 44, I. 67, VII. 4, XII. 168; we often find the adj. quatkin II. 57 quatkin wer, III. 102 wit quatkin sin IV. 231, XI. 19.

*The indefinite pron.*

The Mn E *one* is found in an (with *schwebendem* full a as in *pâst*) X. 31 I comand an XIII. 195 he gaf an; nan of thaim bot ân XII. 111. an = one thing. Germ. Eines I. 17. al an = alone I. 84 adj.; id. allan VII. 237. XIII. 253 as adv. an lepi word X. 37. thair an hand III. 78. The unaccented form gave the modern indef. article and it is a curious fact that in our homilies the def. art. 'the' as well as the indef. a, an are comparatively very little used, before vowels and h an, before consonants a: Pr. 4 a God, a miht (might almost be understood as one God, one miht though we should in this case expect the accented ân) a talle Pr. 89, a monethe Pr. 157 . . . an arc XI. 174, an hethen man X. 115, an unseli knafe X. 120, an outelaw VIII. 176. We find also the adv. on an (= anon IX. 40. 140). anes = once IV. 295.

The ind. pron. *man* (mod. one, somebody, they, people, we, Germ. man) is still known to our author. I quote an expression which often occurs (8 times) als man on Inglis tung mai telle I. 46, II. 40, IV. 50, VIII. 50 . . . besides cf. I. 175, II. 177 ma fendes than man mai nefen III. 59, VI. 332 . . . .

Twice we get na man = nobody IV. 64 and VI. 259, once na wiht = nobody XIII. 353.

The negation of ân is as a rule used as subst. pron. nân (Mn E none), as adj. na (Mn E no), e. g. for nân I. 102. 111. 173. 242. II. 178 . . . for na: XI. 69 na ferlye, na wem X. 10, na wrange sties IV. 129, na herberie V. 69 . . . . but nân, perhaps by mistake of the copyist, as in all other numerous examples our author is very correct in the distinction of na and nan, but cp. Mätz. I. 332, is used twice as adj. nan froit Pr. 98 on nan wyse IV. 244 cp. also nangat IV. 78. 250. VII. 109.

*Sum* (Ags. sum) Mn E some can also be used with subst. or without e. g. sum mana(n)ced his durs to brek VI. 353 sum loued him for sawel hele, sum his mirakel for to se X. 168—70, I. 228. XIII. 370 . . . ; as adj. cp.



sum quet XI. 150, sum fetel XI. 163, sum almous XI. 148, I. 122 . . . . sum man III. 287 stands for somebody.

ohht (for Ags. awiht Orm ohht 432) Mn E aught is found in XII. 102. 125 r. w. thoht. The negation of it noht = nothing Pr. 85. II. 35. I. 89. 101 . . . . just as in Mn E nothing but we get noht bot I. 89, III. 141 . . .

Ags. âenig has become any (in Orm it is yet anig) any filth I. 110, ani fel II. 109, any schatthe VI. 501.

*Many* as subst. pron. is used in II. 236, as adj. with following subst. in the sing. or plur:

mani waie X. 44, many taking II. 181, many pas II. 247.

mani an III. 278, oft and mani sithe XII. 59, sa mani wyle and wrenk Pr. 20.

mani nedes VI. 328, mani bischopes VIII. 123 . . . but often fele = many. X. 6, I. 227.

Notice the single instance of Mn E many a in II. 264—mani a day, in all other examples the indef. art. a was left out.

*ilk* (Ags. âelc, elc, ylc) Mn E each is only used as adj. or as compound with an e. g. til ilke manne Pr. 56 at euerilke messe Pr. 93. 49. 33 . . . ilkan of thaim II. 106, IX. 39, X. 145 euerilkan II. 187. 243. There is one instance of the use with the indef. article ilke a yer Pr. 159.

slik in the usual northern form for Mn E such (Ags. swile) in our text. e. g. I. 172, II. 55, III. 33. 69 . . . VI. 491 . . ., but we find

sli VI. 410, VIII. 151, VII. 282, also sly VII. 12. 282, and the closer Ags. form. suile XIII. 241 and sile XI. 86. We see the form of this pron. is very unsettled yet.

*All* is used with a following substantive or without one for the masculine or neuter.

*masc. subst.* alle may understand Pr. 63, I. 123, 126, 128, 206, II. 184 . . .

*neuter subst.* al es loken Pr. 10, 12, 45, I. 140 al that the precheour says . . .

as adj. al this werd Pr. 85, al faur Pr. 89, al folk Pr. 130 al our soru Pr. 168, innes alle V. 68 al thi sinnes I. 256 . . .

Notice the gen. pl. *aller* in our *aller nedes* Pr. 156, I. 90. As adv. corresponding to quite, all, we find it in *al euin* II. 132 *al biden* II. 7, *al bare* I. 245 . . .

I take *qua* in the expression *als qua say* — which is an expression frequently met with — to be a literal translation of the Latin turn *ac si quis dicat* in which case *qua* would be an indef. pron. I. 215, II. 33, III. 17, 27, 49 . . . cf. the name as yet of hire among the people *as who seith* halowed is. Chaucer Tro. & Cress. III. 218 Ags. æghwæther, ægthar has become aither as seen in XII. 124 *thai grette aither other* = *alter alterum*.

The negation to it is *nouthar* or *nauther*, of *nauther* (saving a thief from hanging or bringing up a foundling) *getes he mense ne mede* XIII. 359 or *nouthar* of *thaim* (*wa* or *welth*) *chaunged his mod* III. 58; a man . . . *another* . . . and *nauther hauid penis for to yeld* I. 231.

The interrogative form to it (Lat. *uter*) is found in *quether* of *thir tua* I. 235.

There is yet the pron. 'other', which in our text has no plur. in *s* when it is used substantively e. g.

I. 106 *He wend wel wit him to fare als he hauid don wit other are.*

XIII. 210 *scho ofered first als comly quene and efter hir other bidene*, see also XIII. 219.

X. 153 *this leper and other ma / Com Crist in our sawel to sla.*

In V. 16 we would put in Mn'E. the def. art. the

Godd mad them (for *thaim*) *alle serely spekand*

*That nân moht other understand.*

In II. 212 we get 'other' in the sense of modern 'either' *other wakand or slepand*.

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## Verbs.

The Present tense ends in the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. plural in *-es* or it has no termination: *thai wirkes* VIII. 220 *dedes bers wittenes* III. 17. *Jowes hauis* III. 27, *il felawes drawes*

VII. 218 rekeles gifs VII. 267; if the pers. pron. immediately precedes or follows the verb, it takes no 's'; the same rule applies to the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. plur. cp. Morris Spec. I. p. XLII. thai here (hear) r. w. lere Pr. 102 thay telle I. 67, thai ger III. 85. If there is but one pron. to two verbs, the 2<sup>nd</sup> verb would take the 's'; thai kindel baret . . . and slokenes it III. 81 thai waken Crist and askes socoures XI. 56 or if the rel. pron. 'that' refers to a preceding plur. thaim that heldes III. 74, thaim that gas III. 199, tha that turnes noht . . . bot menskes XIII.

Examples for the 1<sup>st</sup> pers. plur.:

we sofare XI. 10 r. w. yare; we finde VII. 149 r. w. kind; we al pray I. 289, we fast and wak XIII. 124 r. w. mak (inf.).

The instance in IV. 142 'ef we straye and haldes noht the riht way' may be a mistake of the copyist, for after 'ef we have in our homilies the subjunctive mood, therefore hald without 's' should be expected. The case is else analogous to those mentioned above of two verbs to one pron. when the 2<sup>nd</sup> verb. takes the 's' in the pl.

1<sup>st</sup> pers. sing. pres. indic. terminates in -e which is mute as a rule or it drops it altogether, cp. Mätzner I. 357. I biteche VIII. 137, I the bihete VIII. 202, I red that thou falle XI. 193 cp. IX. 109, I fle r. w. me X. 35, VIII. 209, IX. 127 . . .

2<sup>nd</sup> pers. sing. pres. tense terminates in -s:

thou forgifes VI. 256, thou that geris VI. 269; hauis thou ben VIII. 179, qui flees thou VIII. 195.

cp. IX. 13, XI. 105, 151, XII. 108 . . . (also IV. 29, 30, 217).

3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing. pres. takes of course 's', but there are many forms in is: mi fa haues XII. 18 . . . castis, askis, bitakenis, wonis . . .

The regular weak imperfect is formed by addition of -d, -ed or -id as well as the pp.

*p<sub>rt</sub>*: confortd, lethed, woned, wênd (= thought); he speride XI. 184, he flekerid VI. 459, tholid VII. 218, demid,



makid, dremid . . . *pp*: he was graithed r. w. laid VI. 401, preched, ended, but deceuid, gederid, demid I. 239 . . .

The frequent occurrence of 'is' for 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> p. s. pres. t. and id for prt. t. and *pp*. is a curious feature of our northern text.

*The auxiliary verbs: to be.*

inf. to be *pp*. ben.

Pres. ind. 1<sup>st</sup> pers. s. the usual form is I(c) am VI. 283, 289 IV. 11, 19, 81 . . ., but we get I me self es I. 38, III. 18 I sothe fast Godd es / wittenes, IV. 23, 42, 178, VI. 414.

We see in the 4<sup>th</sup> hom. we get 4 times the form 'am' and three times 'es'. As also in the other homilies we find am and es in about the same number, es in III. 18 even in the rhyme, I am inclined to put this fact down to the dialect of the composer in which both forms were found with about the same frequency.

2<sup>nd</sup> pers, es thou VI. 252, X. 36 by analogous formation to the 3<sup>rd</sup> pers. sing., but Prol. 11 we find thou ert and IV. 27, 179 (Ags. eart Icel. ert).

3<sup>rd</sup> pers.: the most usual form is es and is, sometimes isse r. w. I wis II. 270, blis IV. 249, messe VI. 471 . . . or esse II. 174, 115, VI. 452 . . .; about a dozen times we find the form bes I. 40, 294, II. 11. 124, 152 . . . and once in I. 136 est.

The plur. has 'er' II. 275, XI. 12, Pr. 19, 90, 92 . . . but I. 256 we get even in the rhyme

al thi sinnes forgiuen es r. w. pes (peace) &

IX. 28 min dedes noht forthi bes . . .

cp. your brany's bese brokyn Townl. Mist. p. 153, Mätzner I. 362.

Prët. tense has 'was' for the sing., but scho ware r. w. yare XIII. 28, 1. pl. we war II. 155. 3<sup>rd</sup> pl. has war I. 123, 228, III. 127, 253 passim, but Pr. 71, II. 174, III. 126 'was' referring to all, but standing in the following rel. sentence beginning with that in which case we often find the sing. instead of the plur. There is only IV. 23, XII. 118 thai was ful fayne as a certain instance of the



use of was as plur. In XIII. 45 we get the form wer: quen faurty dawes wer broht til ende which is clearly a form not fitting our dialect (Ags. wáeron, southern weore) cp. Morris Spec. I. p. LXXXVII, 3. The subj. mood pres. is be and pret. war, cp. I. 89, 102, 213, II. 150, 220 . . . Pr. 127, IX. 151. XI. 64.

Notice the only instance of 'wair' VI. 439 als he wair wode. 'War' can also be made use of for the conditional e. g. VII. 155

Lang war to telle = it would be long.

Notice the curious use of II. 220

War scho ne hafd ben, I hauid gan

(So. Vers. reads neore heo, I hedde beo gon r. w. Sathan).

In V. 5, 63, 79 we get three times the form wasse, twice rhyming with asse, where the e is mute or pronounced in about the same way as the French 'e muet' in affected speech or singing.

The auxiliary verb 'to haue' is conjugated in the following manner: I haf I. 257, thou hauis VIII. 179, he haues or hauis I. 243, 245 . . . , we haf I. 139, 145 . . . ye haf I. 273, haf thai Pr. 103, but as a rule hauis or haues Pr. 72, II. 61, 67 . . . Once we find 'king hafs' VII. 70.

The pret. is either hauid cp. Pr. 147, I. 98, 106, 152, 155 . . . I. 99, haued I. 166 . . . or hafd Pr. 134, 141; I. 188, 190 . . .

Stray forms are haft XI. 203, hafede IV. 200, aued without h Pr. 130 and the contracted form had I. 120, IV. 260. Once we get the pluperfect in X. 80 hafd he noht hafd.

This fact that our homilies scarcely know the forms without f or u of to have, whilst Hampole uses 'has' and 'had', are a sure indication that they are fairly older. Even Hupe in his critical text lines to the Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S. orig. Series 101, p. 201 ff.) takes the forms has, had as those belonging to the original.

The *auxiliary verbs of mood* are

pres. sal pret. suld, but notice sud I. 218, sudd I. 238,

sold XIII. 40, 45. Second person sing. has also sal  
thou cp. IX. 30. Morris Spec. I. LXXXVII. 1.

pres. wil pret. wald, 2<sup>nd</sup> pers. pres. thou wil III. 129,  
147, wil to IV. 208.

pres. can, pret. cuthe or couthe VI. 404. 454. VII. 171  
. . . pres. part. cunnand VI. 486.

pres. may pret. moht.

From Ags. ágan we get after dropping the termina-  
tion of the inf. and vocalisation of g into y or u au; we  
find it often in our text in the sense of mod. Engl. ought  
Pr. 42. VII. 274, 222, 240, 244, but VII. 236 we get it in  
the sense of owe and the prt. to it is got in I. 229 a man  
haht him fifty penis.

In the following I am going to give a list of the  
irregular verbs according to Koch's *historische Grammatik*  
I p. 241 ff.

### I. Reduplicating verbs :

Ags. fealle Metr. Hom. fal I. 164 Pr. 112 I. 51, fell I. 193.  
III. 98, fallen X. 90, notice inf.  
fallen VII. 39.

wealle » welle II. 165.

healde » hald Pr. 113, II. 239, held Pr. 131,  
II. 244, halden II. 186. XIII. 42.  
ophaldes Pr. 12, bihald III. 250,  
biheld I. 213.

wealce » walces 3 pl. I. 1, II. 64; welk I. 83,  
welc VIII. 159, walked X. 44.

gange » inf. ga Pr. 145, III. 20 . . . . Im-  
perat. ga I. 255. XIII. 223. I gang  
XII. 81 r. w. lang.

inf. gang VIII. 154. XIII. 217.

Imperat. gang X. 31.

but I ga XIII. 346. thaim that gas III. 199. IV. 122.

prt. I yod X. 139, he yod XI. 221 r. w. mod.

thai yode r. w. stode III. 37, VI. 361 r. w. mode . .

he yed VII. 130 r. w. goddhede, men yede III. 61

r. w. rede (reed) VI. 368 r. w. wed (weed) . .

We see both forms *yed* and *yod* are found in the rhyme and with about the equal frequency.

part. pres. *gangand* XI. 140. 178. pp. *gane* II. 36. *gan* II. 220. III. 169 . . . .

The form *gon* we IV. 238 is a form belonging to the writer.

2) Ags. â                      pr. *ëo, ê*                      pp. â  
*hâte* to be called no pres. prt. *hiht* I. 186, III. 100  
 (9 times) *hit* VIII. 2 (Goth. *haitada*).

*hêt* prt. *hatte* (was called) XII. 112, XIII. 62 (Vern. Ms. has *hihte*).

to promise *pres.* I *hyte* VIII. 205 r. w. *plihte*. cp. I  
*bihete* VIII. 202 r. w. *lete* (= listen).

prt. *hiht* II. 204. 239 . . . . (5 times) *hit*  
 III. 255. 276.

pp. *hiht* III. 154. 314 r. w. *mihte*.

to order, command prt. VIII. 212. X. 147.

promised prt. *he bihet* III. 272 r. w. *prophet*.

*cnawe* *cnëow* inf. *kawe* Pr. 110 (4 times), *kau*  
 Pr. 50, *ye knaw* IV. 38.

prt. *knew* III. 193. 290, VII. 18. 107. 125 . . . .

*he kneu* VII. 129.

*sawe* *sëon* *he sawes* XII. 57, 63. pl. *sau thai* XII. 48.

prt. *seu* XII. 4, 6, 14.

3) *slaêpe* *slêp* part. pres. *slepan* XI. 54. *slepes* XI. 34.  
*graête* *grêt* inf. *grete* VIII. 200 r. w. *fete*; *gret* II. 154.

VIII. 208 *grede* I. 200 misspelt for *grete* as r. w. *fete*.

inf. *grate* VI. 280, 370 r. w. *state* VI. 429 ac-  
 cording to ON *grâta*.

pret. *gret* I. 244. VI. 441. VIII. 174.

*lâete* to leave *lette* VII. 137 to hinder IV. 206. XII. 100.

*pres.* *lates* 3. s. *pres.* VI. 492, 496 conj. *we leete*  
 IV. 123 r. w. *fete*.

lat *thon* VIII. 139, *lates* imperat. pl. XII. 25.

*pret.* *leet* VIII. 154, XII. 97.

*hleâpe* — prt. *thai lep* XI. 181.

*beâte* *pres.* *betes* 3. s. & pl. XI. 37, 38; prt. *bate*  
 VI. 392.

**Vowel-change Kl. I (Koch p. 254) i, ē, a, u, o.**

- hēlpe      helpes 3 s. pres. XIII. 274. 275. he help subj.  
Pr. 117.
- on-ginne inf. bigin Pr. 165 begin VIII. 114 pr. 3 s. byginnes  
I. 1 beginne we I. 147.  
prt. bigan V. 3 r. w. man, 12, VI. 280 . . .  
gan often used almost as auxiliary verb. (9 times),  
always spelt with 'a', gun but once I. 200,  
and ought to be 'gan', as in Orm only the  
plur. is bigunnen.  
cp. homeward scho gunne him bere Percev. 347.
- dēlfe      inf. delf XIII. 354. mēlte. pp. molten VIII. 98  
used as adj.
- swēlte      3 s. prt. he suelt I. 107.
- gilde      inf. yeld Pr. 45. I. 231. II. 268. prt. yald II. 244.  
V. 35. IV. 263. VI. 339.
- linne (to stop) inf. blin I. 176 . . . .
- winne      winne IV. 296, XII. 153, prt. wan V. 7. 33.
- rinne      inf. rin IX. 138 runnande VIII. 191, prt. ran  
III. 135. 145 . . .
- brinne      inf. bren II. 122, brin 142, brinnand X. 178 im-  
perat. brennes XII. 28, pp. to be brente VI. 286. 420.
- binde      inf. bind II. 163. IV. 282, he bindes IV. 280, prt.  
band I. 116, pp. bunden VIII. 260, r. w. funden.
- finde      find we I. 75, ye find VII. 38, prt. fand I. 110.  
III. 111. VII. 190, pp. funden VIII. 224. 256. 259  
r. w. bunden.
- drince      thou drinkes XI. 105, he drinkes IX. 114, inf.  
drinc VI. 379. IX. 158, prt. drank III. 122, pp.  
dronken IX. 49.
- clinge      pp. klungen VI. 373.
- stinge      inf. sting I. 100, prt. stang VI. 382.
- singe      inf. sing VI. 388. 390 . . . prt. sang VI. 477.
- berste      inf. with metathesis, brest XI. 104 r. w. threst.
- feohte      inf. fiht VIII. 284, subj. quen we feyht XIII. 156.



**II. class pres. i prt. s. æ, a pl. âe pp. u, o.**

- hële has become weak, pres. hele, prt. helid X. 144...  
 nime — — pp. numen VII. 104.  
 nomen Pr. 130. III. 298 . . r. w. comen.  
 cwime inf. com I. 36, cum II. 15 pres. I. 259 Pr. 100.  
 prt. com Pr. 152, 155. I. 28. V. 2, 20 . . . . prt.  
 bicom VI. 478.  
 pp. comen Pr. 129. I. 142. III. 313. V. 67; cumen  
 II. 20 (8 times), once: he war com III. 310, pp.  
 bicomen XIII. 104.  
 bere inf. to ber I. 10. II. 159 to berre III. 258 r. w. messenger.  
 I ber XIII. 87, we ber XIII. 27, berande XIII. 198,  
 3 pl. bers III. 17. 78, prt. bar VI. 443. VII. 103 (yet  
 7 times), pp. born VI. 297, Prol. 71, 153 . . .  
 scëre imperat. scher IV. 191, 2 pl. scheres XII. 29 pres.  
 part. scherande, prt. schar IV. 197. 199. Mätz. n.  
 I. 294, pp. scorn IV. 271.  
 sprëce inf. spek I. 173 3 s. spekis I. 15 . . . . prt. spak  
 I. 212, II. 3 . . . pp. spokin VI. 375. VII. 145.  
 brëce inf. brek IV. 84, VI. 270 r. w. spek, prt. brac.  
 XIII. 235, pp. broken VI. 295. XIII. 237.

**III class. pres. i prt. æ pp. i.**

- gife inf. gif Pr. 98, I. 192 . . . I gif III. 19 he gifes I. 137.  
 prt. thou gaf Pr. 15. 23. I gaf II. 232. 3 s. VI. 410  
 pl. VII. 71. 91; pp. giuen Pr. 47. XI, 254, gifen  
 I. 190. forgif I. 253. VI. 256, forgaf I. 233, forguiuen  
 I. 249. II. 277.  
 ëte inf. to eet I. 194. VI. 379, pres. 3 s. etes XI. 47  
 pl. etes XI. 42, 43 r. w. getes, prt. 3 s. eet I. 196,  
 III. 122 r. w., seete (= sat), 3 pl. ete IX. 8 r. w.  
 seet (= sat) XI. 215.  
 mëte (to meet out) inf. met XI. 154.  
 on gite inf. get II. 205. XIII. 183, 3 pl. pres. getes II. 66.  
 XI. 44. prt. gat I. 184, XI. 122. 123 . . . scho gatte  
 XIII. 256. pp. gette XIII. 297 r. w. sett (Ms. Vernon  
 reads i kept).

- sitte** inf. for to sit IV. 43, VI. 411, sitand VIII. 86. 184. there are two preterit forms. Crist satte VII. 61. sat VIII. 66. 78, sate XII. 73 r. w. gate XIII. 211; and sette I. 199 r. w. grede, seete III. 121 r. w. eet IX. 7, XIII. 191, 193. sete 3 pl. pret. I. 206 r. w. suete (sweet).
- bidde** pres. I bid X. 34. thou bid. X. 27. bides 3 s. II. 93. thai bid VII. 207. prt. bad II. 6. 15. III. 103 . . .
- licge** 3 s. pres. lis IV. 139, lyes II. 227, men lies II. 136 r. w. rise, ligges II. 169, pres. part. liand VI. 444, but liggand VIII. 260, prt. lay II. 214. VI. 330 . . . pl. VII. 134 r. w. clay; pp. lain I. 152 r. w. Maudelayn.
- sëohe** inf. se I. 59 . . . but sehe VIII. 182 (Ms. Vern. reads seche), pres. men sees II. 94. Pr. 68, sing. Pr. 28 . . . conj. I seye XIII. 99 r. w. dey, prt. he sau I. 101. III. 113, thai sawe III. 16 r. w. schaw VII. 55; sen pp. I. 179. V. 5 . . . notice sin X. 105 (Ms. Vern. seene).

**Class IV. a ô ô a.**

- stande** inf. stand II. 110, prt. I stod II. 234 3 s. III. 57. 3 pl. stode III. 38, notice it stud VII. 179.
- fare** inf. far II 226. VIII. 11 pres. II. 218, prt. for VI. 473, pl. VII. 188, besides we get the weak verb féran hou he ferd II. 231. III. 102 . . .
- swarje** prt. he swar III. 131, pp. sworn III. 155.
- scape** prt. schop I. 81.
- wasce** — prt. scho wes I. 201, pp. wasced I. 243.
- sace** inf. forsak II. 43. III. 210. prt. forsôc IX. 75 r. w. tôc.
- tace** inf. for to take Pr. 135. I. 134 . . . notice inf. thac XIII. 148. pres. tas 3 s. I. 3. tase VII. 88. Mätz. I. 399. prt. tok I. 91, III. 305 pl. VII. 77. r. w. bôc . . . pp. taken I. 115, tanne I. 155 r. w. woman, tân (Morris All. Poems XXXV) I. 90. 92. III. 112. X. 142. cp. pp. mistakin II. 271 & mistan XIII. 284. 368.
- wace** to wac VII. 157. 162 . . . we wak XIII. 124 prt. thai woc VII. 181.
- drage** inf. drawe Pr. 81. VII. 60, draw II. 164, drau VII. 240. VIII. 222, drawes 3 s. pres. II. 190. prt.

drohe VI. 338 r. w. inohe XIII. 234, 3 pl. droh VIII. 145, drohn in VI. 341 is to be read drouh as we find in Ms. Vernon.

The compound witdraw inf. XIII. 40 has the prt. witdrew VII. 126 r. w. knew.

gnage inf. gnawe XI. 197 r. w. thrawe.

sleahe inf. slay II. 130 r. w. day, else we find sla VI. 246. 306, VII. 46. 47, r. w. ma; prt. sloh IV. 218 r. w. woh, VII. 243 r. w. inoh; pp. slain I. 121 r. w. thain, VII. 135 r. w. igain, but slan III. 108 r. w. womman III. 164 r. w. bân (murderer).

hleahē inf. lah (to laugh) VI. 243.

weaxe — — prt. wex. VIII. 156, X. 112, XIII. 316.

cwacian inf. quac. II. 130, prt. quoc VII. 124 r. w. boc.

#### Class V. î â i i.

drîfe inf. drife II. 229. VI. 298 prt. draue X. 122 r. w. haue.  
scrîfe pres. if we schrif II. 282, quen he him schrifes VI. 249. prt. he schraf XI. 133, thai schraf I. 29. pp. schriuen II. 275, scriuen XI. 253. scrifen VI. 391.

bîte 3. s. pres. fir bites VII. 287 ff.

smîte — — pp. smitte X. 155 r. w. it.

wrîte — — pp. writen VII. 123 X. 50.

bîde inf. bide III. 9 r. w. pride XIII. 217.  
prt. abade XIII. 213 and habad XIII. 78.

rîde — prt. rad XI. 25.

â-rîse inf. ris. I. 154, 275 prt. ras VI. 241 r. w. place.  
VI. 275 r. w. grace, 408 r. w. was, 3 pl. VII. 134.  
The factitive verb to rais III. 23.

stîge — prt. scho stec XIII. 236.

Orm thrîfe prt. thraf VIII. 47 r. w. gaf.

rif inf. XI. 245 prt. raf VII. 133 (Mn E. to rive,  
not found in Orm, Lay., Ags., it is the O N rîfa).

#### Class VI. eo eâ u o.

reofe has become weak, inf. ref IV. 144 r. w. lef, 148.  
prt. reft I. 119, VI. 340, VIII. 160 . . . raeft III. 100.  
pp. reft IV. 259, VI. 296, XII. 160.

beode (order, offer) . . . prt. bedd thou (offered) I. 242.  
 pp. the king hauid bed III. 137 r. w. red (advised)  
 forleose pp. forlorn II. 156 VI. 282 r. w. borne.  
 lûce pp. loken XII. 23, 25, XIII. 238; lokin VI. 376,  
 fleoge prt. it fleȳ (flew) VII. 180 r. w. hey.

### Weak Irregular Verbs.

#### 1) Addition of -d to the infinitive:

cen or ken, kenne Pr. 44, 77, kend I. 23, IV. 99.  
 to fede III. 223 prt. he fedde VI. 336 pp. fedde XIII. 323.  
 fle II. 150 r. w. be XI. 98, I fle IV. 109, flees thou VIII. 195.  
 prt. fled VIII. 188.  
 for to her Pr. 66, I. 285 . . . heres I. 66 hers I. 173, prt.  
 herd II. 185 III. 13 . . . pp. herd I. 273 . . .  
 inf. led IV. 149, 96 pres. IV. 94 ledis 102, 106, VII. 301,  
 prt. ledde I. 31, ledd V. 64, 76 r. w. bedd . . . led V.  
 59, II. 228, 247 . . . pp. led II. 233.  
 rede (to read) inf. II. 240, XII. 22, prt. red II. 241, pp. red  
 Pr. 92, 96.  
 spede IV. 95 X. 185 r. w. lede . . . pp. spedde XII. 149,  
 sped XII. 108, 109.  
 wên (mean) III. 65, VI. 415 . . . prt. wênd I. 89, II. 224,  
 III. 47 . . .

2) Verbs in d- or th losing the prt. termination ed,  
 but shortening the preceding vowel, th is changed into d:  
 inf. hide IV. 181 r. w. biside VIII. 280 r. w. wide X. 96,  
 Pr. 51, prt. he hid X. 131, pp. hidde XIII. 25, but hid  
 Pr. 60, VIII. 268 r. w. thrid.  
 inf. kithe II. 195, I kithe III. 28 prt. scho kid I. 250, 232  
 pp. kid Pr. 59.  
 in Ags. not found Icel. klaetha has prt. he cledde VI. 335  
 r. w. fedde, pp. cledde XIII. 324, but cled III. 198 ff.  
 inf. schend, IV. 284 r. w. wend IV. 302 prt. —, pp.  
 schent . . . V. 56 VI. 285 . . .

3) -ed has been hardened into t for prt. and pp.:  
 Icel. göra inf. ger II. 50, 51. I ger III. 20, I. 163, prt. gert  
 Pr. 145, I. 154 pl. gert II. 240 . . . pp. gert Pr. 50, I. 99.



lcel. tyna inf. tin. III. 234, XIII. 147 tine XI. 130, pp. tint I. 169 tinte VI. 305, XIII. 334.

Ags. higian to hie, hasten, prt. hit IV. 160 (So. Vers. reads higt).

inf. men III. 200, VIII. 230, prt. ment VIII. 41, 44, IX. 44.

Of Ags. bilâevau (to leave) we get inf. leue I. 168, lef I. 260 II. 171, we lef I. 268; prt. left IX. 77, XII. 159 r. w. reft.

inf. *wend* (to go) Pr. 80, I. 117, II. 285 (instead of i read e) prt. went II. 262 r. w. ment VI. 428. VII. 55 . . .

Ags. sceadan, which was a strong verb, furnishes the prt. sched III. 96, ched III. 176, sched VI. 316 XIII. 264, schedd IX. 147.

This last form induces me to make this verb weak, as we have found ledd, fedd . . .

Without hardening of ded into t we get

inf. *send* I. 9., prt. send Pr. 135, 148, I. 69 . . . pp. send I. 92, III. 266, XIII. 224.

inf. gret VII. 40 *to greet* is got in the prt.-form grette VI. 468, XII 124 r. w. mette.

inf. *bete* IX. 24 r. w. yete, pres. I bet (amend, heal) III. 22, prt. bette I. 130 or Crist bet him of his bale X. 78 pp. man hafd noht ben bette X. 86.

inf. *mête* (to meet) XI. 139 r. w. strête, met IV. 131, 312, prt. mette XI. 145 VI. 467 XII. 123, mett scho XIII. 79, met VI. 442 X. 18 IV. 170.

to *set* gives 3 s. pres. settes I. 57, prt. sette I. 225 sett XIII. 298 r. w. gette, he set him seluin IV. 230.

4) Addition of t and change of preceding c into h and vowel change:

inf. bie Pr. 154, by Pr. 138, bye II. 274; prt. boht Pr. 86 IX. 148. XI. 129, pp. bouht Pr. 105, boht I. 207 . . .

Ags. dukan strong verb had a weak pp. dohte, thus also in our text doht XII. 104 r. w. moht.

Ags. recan inf. reche, prt. raht XIII. 233.

saechen inf. sek VII. 185, to seke IV. 179 r. w. leke we seke VII. 8, prt. man soht III. 59, 44, VII. 34, 147, bisoht II. 255.

bitaechen inf. teche VI. 44, 3 s. pres. II. 42.

bringe inf. bringe Pr. 117, imper. pl. brings XII. 30, prt. broht I. 8, 96, III. 270 . . . Notice the compound in-broht VIII. 242.

I biteche pres. VIII. 137 r. w. leche, prt. bitaht VIII. 133. 172.

thencan } inf. think II. 170. III. 219 . . . prt. thoht I. 213. 219.  
thyncan } II. 222 . . . notice toht VI. 349. VI. 16, thot 3 pl. VIII. 56. 150.

me think (without s) Pr. 75, I. 47 hir thoht XIII. 211, 239.

scho umthot I. 169 he umthoht VI. 389. XIII. 319.

to wirke Pr. 76, to were VIII. 212, pres. I. 146. VIII. 220, prt. wroht V. 73. VI. 307.

*With vowel change and addition of -d:*

sellan inf. sel X. 119, to selle XI. 162, selle we X. 108, thou selle XI. 159, prt. sald XI. 170. 173 r. w. hald, pp. salde II. 22.

tellan inf. telle Pr. 166, tel I. 2. 157, thay telle Pr. 89. I. 67.

I tel I. 28, prt. tald III. 267. VII. 260. I. 19. VI. 424 . . . pp. tald I. 257. II. 266, but notice pp. telld r. w. felid II. 197 (only instance).

Ags. lecgan inf. to lai VII. 277, prt. scho laid V. 80. X. 7, pp. laid III. 12 . . . layd II. 237, layde VI. 324.

Ags. sagjan imp. sai on I. 224, pl. says Pr. 127. prt. said I. 35. 221 . . . *contracted prt. & pp.*

Ags. macjan inf. to mac Pr. 165. I. 209 . . . 3 pl. pres. mas I. 63. 217. III. 24 . . . prt. thou made Pr. 14, without e Pr. 16. 18; 3 s. Pr. 17, 167, uncontracted imperf. maked Pr. 85, cp. Mätz. I. 364.

The Verb cast which is the Icel. kasta is conjugated in our text as a strong verb of the I class.

caste inf. III. 68. VI. 248, prt. kest I. 152. 195. VI. 426. pp. casten II. 249.

To do is never used as auxiliary verb; it is found in compounds as misdo inf. III. 85, undo Pr. 97, prt. he did misse III. 92, but undid IX. 140, pp. don I. 206, III. 158 . . .

The use of 'gan', gert, sal, mai, wil . . . followed by the verb in the inf. form deprives us of a great number of prt. & pp. which otherwise would have increased the

interest of our text. Thus put, lend, sink, kep, geld, crep, boln, blede occur only in the inf. form, so that their conjugation in our text is unknown to us, sal and wil are of course used to form the future tense.

There are a lot of instances of the verbal noun ending in -ing, but never the pres. part.

Crist to coming I. 50, of Cristes to cuminge I. 76 your biing II. 19 (the price for bying); min asking III. 146 fra roting VII. 80, the bolning of pride X. 95, teth gnaisting X. 64, sare greting X. 63, wit okering XI. 123, niht wakinges VII. 170.

The pres. part. always ends in 'and', as wonand V. 45, liand VI. 144, but liggand VIII. 260, gangand XI. 140. 178 r. w. fand; in brinnand candel XIII. 12, cp. I. 209, V. 15, VII. 189, VIII. 191 . . .

The So. Vers. always changes these pres. part. into -ing and therefore is sometimes obliged to change the rhyming words. Thus cp. XIII. 197 'comande' was taken by the writer to mean « commánd » and therefore he changed berande into 'in hande' whilst the passage means 'she saw coming', a sure sign that the Northern original was turned into a Southern dialect. Certain words are found in two forms, thus tithing r. w. biging I. 53, but thitand r. w. likand VII. 14, offering r. w. thing VII. 298, but offerand VIII. 12; X. 15 . . . (O F offrande).

### Cardinal & Ordinal Numbers.

We have already been speaking about ân.

Ags. twâ Mn E two is always tua I. 48. X. 129, always bath except IV. 206. 280 bâithe.

Ags. threo has become thre r. w. trinité Pr. 4, IV. 61. VII. 6. 16 . . . faur Pr. 87. 89 as also faurtend, faurty spelt with au belong according to Hupe to Western Northumberland; we get but once fourtenniht VII. 267; fif schilling XI. 171; sex IX. 35, sefniht I. 284, fifteen II. 103, tuelf VIII. 15, faurty XIII. 41. 45, sexti II. 112; hondret VII. 165. Notice also the often occurring form the tother



I. 59. III. 79 . . . but in XII. 31 we get the other. In XIII. 69 we even find the *tan* . . . the *tother*.

We find the following instances of ordinal numbers: the first I. 135. 263 . . . the *tother* (Ags. *óther* = second) or his other I. 267. I. 59 . . . *thred* I. 274. VII. 283 . . . *thrid* or *thride* II. 117 . . . (9 times), *ferthe* II. 121, *fift* II. 123, *sexte* II. 125, *seuend* II. 127, *achtande* II. 129, *neynd* II. 131 (Da. *niende*), *tend* II. 133, *elleft* (Icel. *ellepte*) II. 135, *tuelft* VII. 1, *thretend* II. 138. *faurtend* II. 141, *fifetende* II. 143. The Ags. forms being *eahtotha*, *nigotha*, *thritéotha* and Old North. having the same termination *aehtotha* . . ., I attribute this termination *-nd* in *seuend*, *achtand*, *neynd*, to Dano-Norwegian influence, Icel. having *siunde*, *attande*, *níonde*, *thretande*. (Morris Spec. I. LVI.) Owing to Icel. *tvinnr* = two and two we find *thir fousl* *tuinne* XIII. 161 r. w. *sinne*, on *thrinne wis* XIII. 260 adv. in *tuin*: *thai heeld in tuin* on either side III. 83, but in *tua* (Germ. *entzwei* in two parts) IV. 191. 199. We see the adv. genetives *anes* IV. 295 & *thris* III. 245.

## Prepositions, adverbs, conjunctions.

The proposition 'at' is little used before subst. VII. 42. VIII. 77, before infinitives we find it only in the standard expression 'that es at say' III. 77. 315. IV. 97. 143. 281 . . .

Mn E between is *bitwix* III. 55, *bituixe* XI. 97, *bituix* XIII. 235.

*efter* is the prep. of the original, two or three times we find 'after' Pr. 34.

'for to' corresponds to modern 'in order to before inf. Pr. 47. 101. 117. 136 . . .

'for' is sometimes used instead of before like German *vor* e. g. III. 125.

Mn E from is used in the Northern form *frá* throughout our text.

*igain* used in the sense of against III. 57. 72, but hom. IV. 177 reads *igaines me* (So. Vers. *ageynes*) in IX. 100 we read 'again *hir*'.



for modern 'among' we get continually imang IV. 37, VII. 50, VIII. 22 . . .

we réad op instead of the usual up in XII. 20, the compound is opon Pr. 97. VII. 104. 271 . . . or apon Pr. 138, I. 42. 107, II. 214 . . ., once only be find upon III. 194.

thoru stands for through, twice V. 3 & X. 151 toru.

The use of the prep. til is very frequent; it stands not only for modern till, but in a great many expressions we should nowadays use 'to', to spek til, bring til IX. 71. 104. 110 . . ., modern unto is in til III. 46, IX. 98 or until X. 56.

In consequence the prep. 'to' is less used than in modern English.

The modern 'with' is found as with, withe VIII. 14, wit Pr. 9. 37. 39. 106 . . . as wiht Pr. 12. 38. 132. 143 and witt X. 27, XII. 139, XIII. 106.

The conjunctions are of about the same use as in our time. The usual spelling for if is yef Pr. 98. 108. 147, I. 108. 158 . . . or ef III. 237, IV. 131. 138. 141. 184. 281, VIII. 106, IX. 61 . . . Notice how in hom. IV ef is used for the more frequent yef. The form 'if' is found in II. 282, VII. 196, XI. 74 and 'yf' Pr. 97.

Ags. sithan Mn E since is used as conj. in the form 'sin' I. 247, III. 289, IV. 27, XI. 126, but as adv. sithen III. 291. 297, XII. 29. XIII. 118. 263.

thoh from  $\sqrt{\text{thauh}}$  which gave Icel. thó by dropping the h of an intermediate form thoh. We even get the compound thohquethir = nevertheless III. 133. 216. X. 47. XI. 70. 197. 211 . . . VI. 446, VII. 193, VIII. 65 . . .

ar Mn E ere is found as conjunction and as adv., cp. Pr. 129, I. 53, IV. 252, but I. 106, IV. 85 . . .

als is often made use of in the sense of modern 'also' and als was he mar than a prophet III. 271 and als he mad a pouer bedd til Mary V. 75, VII. 119. 129. 296, IX. 88 . . .

The adv. is formed by -li, -ly, -lye or -lic added to the adj., but the great variety of forms shows that the language is in a period of transition.

e. g. adv. gastilye I. 267, gastlic I. 271, gastli I. 48. 144; stithe as adv. III. 64. 71, but stithelic VI. 241; rife (adj. famous), rifli adv. III. 219; adj. flesly liking III. 109, but adv. to knawe fleyslic III. 94, adv. ferlic VIII. 30, foullic VI. 418, mihtfullik I. 124.

'Wel' and 'ful' are often met with where in Mn E we should say much or very: wel wer VI. 293 = much worse, ful ille likand VII. 14 = very badly pleased; ful fain VII. 59 = very glad; besides our author likes to make use of the adv. gern = Ags. georne, thai suld gern spire VII. 28. Crist was soht gern VIII. 254, IX. 111, VI. 348.

Other now obsolete adv. are forthi (Ags. forthy) = therefore VI. 491, VII. 161 . . . , sithen (Ags. síthan) = afterwards VI. 478. 498.

According to our Northern dialect we get are, thar, than where the So. forms were eo, now e: ere, there, then or sar, on an, mar where we find now 'o'.

Notice the adv. *quethen* interrog. form X. 138, XII. 15 (modern whence) to thethen XII. 82 found in Ormulum due to northern influence O Dān. thaethaen isl. thathan. *quider* IV. 171. 208, XII. 80 interr. form to thider = Ags. thider III. 318, IV. 106. 304, VII. 256 . . . , compound form thiderward XII. 78.

quar interr. form to thar furnishes us the form noutherequare X. 139 in the sense of nowhere. Upon two more facts I should like to draw the attention of the reader: 1° the frequent use of the compound adverbs with -gat: thusgat II. 83, XII. 135, suagat XII. 22, nangat IV. 250, VII. 109, VIII. 95, hougat VI. 461, XIII. 174 . . .

2° the accumulation of the negation which is a feature quite essential & particular to our text:

thing that I you telle, ne mai na miht fordo ne felle II. 34.  
graietheli no wist he noht VI. 460.  
ye no knaw him noht IV. 38. 308.  
als noht ne ware X. 135.  
poc no sek no hauid he nan XI. 156.  
no gif thou . . . na tale XI. 195.

## The Rhyme.

We have seen by the preceding lines that the Edingb. Ms. is not the original though a fairly good copy of it. If we now want to ascertain the dialect of the original, we have no better means to do so than by examining carefully the rhyme, for it is much more difficult to the copyist to change the obsolete or unknown word of one line without being obliged to change the rhyming word of the 2<sup>nd</sup> line too.

The length of the vowel is rarely shown by doubling it, as. sees Pr. 68, to eet I. 196, to the meet (meat) I. 198, feet I. 203, but cp. 206, reed III. 55 r. w. wede (vb.) but cp. rede I. 62, 74, 83, seete (prt.) III. 121, 122, IV. 69, 123, 221, VIII. 39, 154 Bedleem VII. 23 is to be read in three syllables, faand XII. 102 ought to be read fanded; biing II. 19, 21 is also dissyllabic, a guttural sound g having been dropped. In the spelling of the Cursor Mundi however we often meet with forms as tijn, vijn, mijn, pijn, rijke, saald, taald, caald which in our homilies are tim or time, wîn, min, pin(e), rike, sald, tald, cald.

In the following researches I am going to follow the list of vowels given in ten Brink's fundamental work 'Chaucer's Sprache und Verskunst' Leipsic 1884 (p. 9 ff.)

### Sources of long $\bar{i}$ :

- 1) *Ags.  $\bar{i}$* : rise r. w. grise II. 49; rike / ferlic XIII. 253, wis II. 147, wide II. 63, pin II. 280, life III. 23, nithe III. 27, swithe / hithe III. 135, min, life, qui, tim, bide (vb.), blithe II. 194 . . .
- 2) *Ags.  $\bar{y}$* : pride r. w. wide II. 63, r. w. hide X. 95, Lefdye / forthie II. 251, fire r. w. ire VII. 271, hire (ags. hyr) r. w. fire XII. 181.
- 3) *Ags.  $i$  before  $ld$ ,  $nd$ ,  $mb$* : blind / find I. 87, finde / wind III. 47, kinde / find IX. 93, blinde III. 51, mild / child V. 77, VIII. 133 wilde VIII. 127.
- 4) *Ags.  $i$  or  $y$  before  $a$  lost (guttural) palatal sound*: Marye / bie Pr. 153; I / hy I. 35, VI. 429; rise r. w. lies



II. 135, sties (sb.) / spies IV. 129, bodi / bi (vb.) IX. 67, besides all the adv. in -ly or -lye, ithenly I. 104, ferlye VI. 357, mekeli VIII. 65, ugli VI. 257.

5) *ON î*: nîte r. w. wîte XI. 85: knîfe / life, IV. 229, 271; ermite / site (grief) XII. 105, nitte / yete IV. 79 seems however to point to short i by frequent interchange in ME of short i and e.

6) *OF î*: seruis / quaintis Pr. 21; envie / merceye I. 165; folie / gastelye I. 167; / bodye I. 199; / crye VI. 253; / I IV. 219, fin (sb. end) / pin III. 315, couaytye / envy IV. 289, couaitise / servise V. 25, licherye I. 165 auîse VIII. 81, prelacyes / bies (vb. buys), X. 105, îre (ânger) / fire VII. 271 iustîse II. 145, medecîne II. 280.

'i' seems to be half long in pris (price) / es II. 19, penis / prise I. 229, but short according to the spelling which may be wrong, in V. 33 prissee / seruise.

#### Sources of short *ĩ*:

1) *Ags. i, ie > io, eo or i-umlaut of ea*: Inglisse / isse Pr. 95, ine / blin I. 247, spring / bring II. 25, kithe (sb. kin) VIII. 14, ille / wille III. 87, wille / stille VI. 355, / tylle (prp.) VI. 359, miht / sefniht I. 283, kirk / irk II. 59, Crist / wist I. 193 III. 33 VII. 29, kinc (to whoop) VI. 243, niht / riht VII. 117, drinc / swinc VI. 379, briddes (sb.) XIII. 53, miht / fiht VIII. 283, schift / lift (air) II. 141 or from other Germanic sources tint / stint I. 169, tuinne / sinne XIII. 161.

2) *Ags. y (ü)*: win (joy) / sin I. 163, king / bring VIII. 285, fille / wille IX. 37, mankinne / sinne X. 161, liste (Ags. hlystan, hlistan) / Teocist XII. 111, birthe / mirthe VII. 1.

3) *Ags. î, ð*: his / blis I. 123, blis / es I. 291, I wis / blis II. 67, I wisse / blisse (sb.) III. 171. It may be that very early in ME the Ags. vb. cythan began to have a short vowel, in our text it rhymes with 'stithe' I. 113 and 'withe' VIII. 13.

4) *Ags. éo, ío, íe*: liht (sb.) / briht VII. 115, pliht / miht XI. 79, insiht / hiht (promised) Pr. 23 XIII. 101, hiht



(was called Germ. hiess) / wiht (strong) V. 5, miht / fiht VIII. 283.

- 5) *Ags. y*: kid > kidd > cythed r. w. hid > hidd > hyded Pr. 59 and thrid / hid VIII. 267.
- 6) *Ags. e*: in think *Ags. thencean* VI. 243 and thyncan.
- 7) *A Peculiar feature* of our northern dialect are the terminations in -id or -in as  
heuin / steuin II. 13; steuin / euin IV. 19, VII. 75;  
heued / weuid (cut off) III. 165; felid (prt.) / telld II. 196.
- 8) *OF i* baptist (pp.) III. 279, gist (dwelling-place) VII. 30.

### Sources of long *e*:

- 1) *Ags. é*: he / the Pr. 31, 32, mede Pr. 123, bem (O Merc. béme) / dem I. 275, fet / gret (prt. wept) I. 243, brem (fierce, angry) / flem I. 279, quem (*ags. cwème* pleasing) r. w. sem I. 277; fele (inf.) hér (adv.) grén, lete (inf.) suéte, met (inf. to meet), sped (inf.), fede (inf.) . . . . é often corresponds to *Ags. ea*, i-umlaut of Teutonic au her (inf. to hear) / maner I. 285, r. w. lere (*Ags. laeran* to teach) VIII. 70, r. w. herbere XIII. 353 (garden of herbs); sen contraction of *Ags. sewen* (pp. of seon) r. w. fíften II. 103, r. w. albiden XII. 15, r. w. men VIII. 229, r. w. ben (been) VIII. 179.
- 2) *Ags. éo*: thre / trinite Pr. 8, fend (Fiend) / wend Pr. 79, r. w. unhende IX. 95, tre I. 107 r. w. he, se (vb.) / tre III. 63, r. w. pouste II. 15, rede III. 55, 61 (hreód, reed), kne VII. 61, thede (people) VII. 23, on dep XI. 5 r. w. on slep. yede > eode r. w. spede XII. 101, r. w. déde VII. 165, prest r. w. nest (superl.) XIII. 201. crep, der (adj.), wede (weeds) . . .
- 3) *OF e* > Lat. as: trinite Pr. 3, charite Pr. 57, pite Pr. 133, cite I. 27, pouste II. 15, chastite IV. 145, lewte (A F lealte) IV. 147, caitifte XI. 29, priuete XIII. 329, pouert Pr. 61 r. w. hert. auter / ner XIII. 243.
- 4) *OF ie*, monophthongized in A F and as I believe long, because it has the accent, messenger I. 9, 65, maner Pr. 159, I. 67, 189, 285 . . . aferes XI. 241, sarmouneres

XII. 41, mister Pr. 65, XIII. 33 (OF *mester* = *ministerium*), cher (OF *chiere* face), II. 234.

- 5) *OF e* > Lat. *è* > Grek *η* prophet r. w. bihet (prt.) III. 273, r. w. suet I. 55.

### Sources of long open e :

- 1) *Ags. æ*: rede (to read) / dede Pr. 93, lere Pr. 101, grede (inf.) I. 199, dele III. 133, stret IV. 107, lede (conj.) IV. 317, unsele VII. 107, methe (mildness, humility) VIII. 5, wete (adj.) II. 278, mene (vb.) VII. 81, sede (sb) XII. 7, 37, wede (sb. garment) III. 191, reede (advice) XII. 169, lefe (vb. to leave) IX. 81, 107.
- 2) *Ags. ea monophthongized*: dede (adj.) Pr. 123, heued (heafod head) III. 149, leke IV. 179 (*Ags. leác*), brede (sb.) VI. 321, chek (*ceácē* cheek) VI. 371, gret (adj.) II. 127.
- 3) *Ags. á in the termination -hád*: fairhede / wède (garment) III. 191, manhed / dède (sb) IX. 15, Godhed / dède IX. 53, but falshed / réd (sb. reed) III. 83, wefe IX. 82 108 (*Ags. vâfjan*) mirari, goddhede / nede (*néad, nyd*), IX. 17 I. 159, seem to point to a close 'e'. Of course we must not forget that the ME rhymes are often not very correct just as the Mn E ones. (Ten Br. Chauc. Spr. § 55.)
- 4) *OF ei* in pes (peace) / es I. 255; r. w. rihtwisnes IV. 101.
- 5) *OF e* > Latin *a + l* or words in *-el* with the accent on this last syllable: speciel / wel II. 187, catel = OF > L. L. capitale XI. 77, 101 . . . or mesel (L. L. *missellus*) I. 189, chapele XIII. 175, cp. preches (OF *prescher* L. *praedicare*) II. 41 r. w. tèches.
- 6) *OF ei + a contracted* lel (adj.) Pr. 53, I. 227, 253, X. 23 . . . cp. the form lelye XI. 209.

### Sources of short e :

- 1) *Ags. e from i umlaut of a, ē, eo, y*: menne Pr. 43, helle Pr. 139, wend (inf. to go) r. w. lend (to dwell) I. 118, gest I. 195, godspelle II. 47; duelle / welle (inf. to well)

- II. 165, yeld (tribute, Germ. Geld) V. 47, deres (to harm, to suffer) II. 56, wers (sb. wars) II. 55, quen (adv.) VIII. 223, snell XI. 213, besides all the numerous subst. in -nes rednes, uglines II. 12, dronkenness VIII. 145, wrangwisnes XI. 49, wildernes III. 43 or from ON e. g. fell (mountain) from fjall, fell, brente VI. 285 (prt. of brennan), stern VII. 33 (ON stjarna), hert Pr. 61, werke Pr. 83, held Pr. 131, gern VII. 34, 164, heuin IV. 125, bedd (sb.) V. 75, threst / brest (vb.) XI. 103.
- 2) *rarely OE ae*: messe Pr. 37, VI. 397, v. ten Brink Ch. § 11, § 48 III., lesse VIII. 202.
- 3) *Ag. é*: sette I. 199, XIII. 297, mette VI. 466, IV. 205, grette (greeted) VI. 467, XI. 146, XII. 124. Icel. geta gave, pp. gette XIII. 297.
- 4) *Ag. áe by elision of 'e' and shortening the vowel of the stem*: cp. áefre < æfre < euer VII. 231 r. w. neuer > ags. naefre, ment Pr. 83, V. 17, II. 262; left (pp.) XII. 159, led V. 76, ledde VI. 974, cledde (prt.) VI. 335, fedde (pp.) VI. 336, ferd III. 102, II. 231, herde III. 101.
- 5) *Ag. ea*: merk V. 18, IV. 272, Pr. 84; elde (adj.) VIII. 63, weld (sb.) VIII. 64, held (prt.) XIII. 230.
- 6) *ON ð, e, a*: e. g. kest (prt.) I. 195 r. w. gest, stern VII. 33, es (3s. pr.) I. 255, V. 94.
- 7) *OF -e*: in the termination -ment: ointment / gent (adj. gay) I. 207, jogement IV. 225, comandement V. 55, vestement VI. 427, amend VII. 113, XI. 243, tent (sb. intént), VIII. 42, clerc VI. 287, VIII. 121, feste / honeste XIII. 181.

#### Sources of long â:

- 1) *Ag. á*: haligâst Pr. 1, I. 43, II. 233 . . . sare I. 171, II. 154, VII. 288 . . . lare (sb.) Pr. 35, 41, mar (adj.) I. 235, II. 31, III. 219 . . . ras (prt.) VI. 241, 275, bane (sb. bone) I. 265, IX. 19, lam (clay) IX. 71, athe III. 155, fa (foe) XII. 55, draue (prt.) X. 131, lathe (loath) III. 156, thá III. 49, 197 . . . gra (adj.) III. 198, tua (two) III. 5, IV. 199 . . . schal (cup Germ. Schale) r. w. bridal IX. 32, snáw XI. 226, sua IV. 200, VIII. 217. X. 130 . . .



are (adv. ere) I. 211, IV. 85, VII. 287, wa (woe), III. 49, VIII. 218, IX. 101 . . . ân (one) and its compounds I. 84, nan (none) I. 111, III. 111, V. 23 . . . mani an III. 278, euerilkan II. 243, on an IX. 40, wrath (adj.) VI. 394, VII. 154, man (complaint) IX. 9, fra XIII. 230.

- 2) *Ags. a lengthened* in fare Pr. 36, I. 105, II. 251 . . . r. w. lare, âre (adv.) spare Pr. 42 r. w. lare (sb.) far (subj.) r. w. mar III. 220, man (sb.) man) r. w. ân, nân, bân I. 83, 103, 265 . . .
- 3) *Ags. a or ae before the loss of k or g*: ten Brink Ch. Sp. § 29 a):
  - a) ga inf. III. 6, IV. 285, XII. 97 . . . gan (pp.) II. 220, X. 124 (Chaucer go, goon).
  - β) sla inf. IV. 286, VII. 47, X. 153, slan (pp.) III. 164, IV. 193 (Chaucer slen).
  - γ) mas (3s. pr. of make) IV. 59 or from ON taka 3s. pres. tase VII. 87, tan (pp.) I. 89, 120, III. 111, mistan (pp.) XIII. 284, 368.
- 4) *Ags. ae*: fast (adv.) XIII. 233 and compounds stedfast Pr. 2, III. 67, sothefast III. 248, rathe II. 144, III. 277 . . . thar II. 31, II. 153, VI. 455, VIII. 79, thare II. 250, VIII. 11, bare (prt. sing. and pl.) I. 245, XII. 75.
- 5) *Ags. áe*: hare (hair) I. 203, 246, áre (adv.) I. 105, VIII. 79, quare (adv. where) X. 139, mást XIII. 325, last (vb.) II. 37, ware (prt.), IV. 185, VII. 45, IX. 61 . . . in-late (sb.) IV. 104 r. w. gate (Gasse, way). Comp. Cu. Mu. l. 18078.
- 6) *Ags. ea*: kare I. 172, VI. 456; bale I. 130, III. 22, XI. 41: salde pp. II. 22, ald (adj.) VI. 445 VIII. 15, tald pp. VIII. 16, III. 230, bald (adj.) III. 120, 238, VI. 446, tale (sb.) IX. 115, scham / Jam IV. 195, hald (inf.) VII. 80. 283, VIII. 153, wald (prt.) VII. 53, VIII. 154, bridale IX. 2, 117, yare (adv.) IV. 186, VII. 46, IX. 6 . . . Forms as taald, saald, caald, given in Hupe p. 195 prove the a to be long and not half-long.
- 7) *Ags. eo*: suare (sweora neck) r. w. hâre I. 204, r. w. mare VI. 489, swar III. 281, VI. 312.



- 8) *ON a*: schathe (sb.) Pr. 78, I. 234, II. 62 . . . bathe (adj.) Pr. 77, II. 143, III. 276 . . . grate (inf.) VI. 280, 370, tan pp. from taka cp. 2 above, haste (sb.), II. 233 VII. 449 both times r. w. gâste, which leads us to accept long a too for haste. I believe, however, the word to be Skandinavian and not influenced in ME by the French word 'hâter'. These two passages would be earlier than those in King Alis. mentioned in Skeat's Dict. Wan in the expression 'will of wan' must have been little known to the Southern people, for the Southern Version turns this line into Vuel payed was tho the pore mon.
- 9) *OF a*: visage / rage XI. 181; vaiage / pilgrimage IV. 173; trouage / homage V. 35; meschanz / penaunce IV. 255; serganz / penanz VI. 331; faz VI. 377, face VIII. 187, graz VI. 410, VII. 233, solaz VI. 378, traze III. 32, VII. 234, plaz VI. 409, blam I. 96, IV. 169, VI. 289, waste I. 44 r. w. haligaste, place VIII. 188, VI. 242, state VI. 279, 369, as well as the proper names Adam, Jam, Jordan III. 277, Satan II. 221.

#### Sources of short a:

- 1) *Ags. a*: talle (sb.) IX. 1 but IX. 115, sac, sak, sake XI. 136, I. 78, Pr. 120, 136 . . . haf XI. 149, hafe I. 238, haue X. 122, asse V. 64, 80, mak (vb.) III. 27, IV. 74, V. 28 . . . wrak VI. 434, XI. 188, wrake XI. 59, mak (sb. mate ags. gemaca) XIII. 147, wac (vb.) VII. 157, XIII. 124, slake (inf.) XI. 60, gamen I. 126, forsac (vb.) VII. 223, craue XI. 150. Also Satanas IV. 139, 155, Thomas IX. 133.
- 2) *Ags. ae, âe*: was II. 249, III. 124, but VI. 407 r. w. ras (prt.), wasse V. 63, 79, glad III. 160, gladdæ IV. 164, bad (prt.) III. 159, badde (prt.) XI. 202, blac III. 28, qualle (whale) II. 117, madde IV. 165, VI. 465 (*Ags. gemæd* or *gemaad*).
- 3) *Ags. eu* (*North. a.*) before *l, r, f*: alle / calle I. 287, II. 157, witalle (adv.) XII. 24, salle II. 131, XII. 86, sal / fal II. 105, halle III. 126, IX. 42, smalle XII. 23, arm

- (sb.) VI. 443, XIII. 399, gaf (prt.) VIII. 48, forgafe I. 237, X. 119.
- 4) *Ag. a, ae, before following r, rn, nd, ng*: all the pres. part. in -and: cumand II. 30, XIII. 197, schouand II. 58, slepand II. 212, gangand XI. 178, runnande VIII. 191, land II. 29, 57, tithand II. 212, VII. 187, bandes IX. 98, handes V. 20, in my hande r. w. sand (sb. acc.) XIII. 87, standes (3 s. pr.) V. 19, lang (adj.) XII. 82, XIII. 217, strang VI. 326, XI. 208, fang (inf.) XI. 207, gang (inf.) XIII. 218, I gang (pres.) XII. 81.
- 5) *Ag. a or o before m, n, nk*: can Pr. 20. 34. 70, than I. 225, V. 8, bigan V. 3, wan (prt.) V. 7, ban (murderer) III. 114, womman I. 156, wommane (Voc.) XII. 12 r. w. thanne, kanne r. w. manne Pr. 13. 55, carmanne r. w. Anne XIII. 73 (about 1200 the 'l' of Icel. karl mathr was dropped, vide Norreen Abriss d. isl. Grammatik, § 35, 2).
- 6) *ON a, ae*: kaste III. 68, samen (adv.) I. 125. 294. XI. 258, tac, tak, take XI. 135, V. 27, Pr. 135, thráf (prt. of thrive) r. w. gaf VIII. 47 (Orm writes thraf, but gaff). (Piers Ploughman has throff.) We therefore leave the question open. rad XI. 211, radde XI. 201, Icel. hraeddr.
- 7) *Celtic a* in lasce III. 123 r. w. was, cf. Cu. Mu. 2608.

### Sources of long o.

- 1) *Ag. ó*: bók VII. 78, 123; pl. bokes r. w. lokes Pr. 67, blode Pr. 137, blod IX. 147, III. 96, com / dom I. 273, II. 3, but cp. II. 97, do / to Pr. 155, I. 69 . . . r. w. scho (she) I. 187. 215, pp. done r. w. hone (vb. to stay, linger), r. w. schon (pl. shoes) I. 39 r. w. son(e) (adv.) III. 147, IV. 175, r. w. mon (= moon) II. 5. 75, VII. 173, drohe (prt. drew) VI. 338, god(e) (adj.) IV. 269, XI. 83, inóhe VII. 247, VI. 337, mode IV. 270, VI. 439, XI. 84, 222, hoc (hook) I. 92, quoc VII. 124 (*Ag. cwacian* weak verb, but here it has become strong vb. of I class), flode III. 72, forsoc IX. 75, stode (prt.) III. 57. 71. 95, rode Pr. 138, IX. 148, sloh IV. 218, VII. 248, son, soun (adv.) II. 209, III. 157, tók I. 91, VII. 77, IX. 76, wode

- (mad, angry) VI. 439, woh (wrong) IV. 217, to / misdo III. 85, dos r. w. rós [sb.] v. 5 below) III. 223.
- 2) *Ags. éo*: scho (ags. séo) I. 187. 215, XIII. 78. 304. 321, schon (pl. scéos gen pl. scéona) I. 39, yode III. 37, VI. 361. XI. 221.
- 3) *Ags. o before ld*: holde (kind, adj.) VII. 205, golde VII. 206, VIII. 167, fold (sb. a plait) VIII. 168.
- 5) *ON ó*: bon (a boon, prayer) II. 210, VI. 386, VII. 281 ... ró VI. 340, I. 128, ros (Icel. hrósa to praise, hróthr fame, boast) III. 222, thró VIII. 130. Icel. thróaz to grow, increase.

### Sources of short o.

- 1) *Ags. o*: on (prp.) VI. 475, upon III. 194, bore (sb. a hole) IV. 274, bfore IV. 273, VIII. 164, XI. 127; hop (sb.) VI. 313, XI. 134 ... id. (vb.) VI. 414, wanhop (despair) VI. 259. 308, drop (sb.) VI. 314, word / bord XI. 37, worde / horde Pr. 39, VII. 303, born (pp.) VI. 297, born / forlorn II. 155, VI. 281, bischop VI. 260, 307, 413, scorn (sb.) VI. 298 (really OF—OHG word, used in O.E. Homilies) here the term to drive to scorn, Proper name Jon III. 193.
- 2) *Ags. ó*: boht Pr. 30. 86, broht Pr. 29, II. 36, III. 142 ... doht XII. 104.
- Ags. â* in nâht = nâwiht, noht II. 35 r. w. broht, r. w. thoht II. 272, r. w. soht VII. 147, vide ten Brink Chauc. Spr. § 45, noht Pr. 85, II. 35, III. 141 ... oht (anything) XII. 125, soht III. 59, IV. 56, VII. 148, thoht II. 272, III. 60, XII. 126 ... wroht V. 73, moht XII. 103.

In Orm these forms are spelt with 'hh' brohhte, bohhte... soht also seems to be short. We get a beginning of diphthongisation of 'o' into 'ou' in thouht / wroht Pr. 27 and bouht / broht Pr. 105, soune / don III. 157.

- 3) *Ags. o in an open syllable* is to be pronounced half long spokin / lokin VI. 375, VII. 145, broken / loken XIII. 237.
- 4) *Unsteady o, often changing with u*: cumen / nomen III. 297, cum / kingdom VII. 43, cume / dóm. II. 97, crestendom / com VIII. 143, cumen / numen VII. 103;

comen / nomen Pr. 129, V. 67, X. 87, inf. come / gome VII. 31, gom / com X. 25, Chapharnaume / guine X. 17, son (son) VII. 162, VIII. 9 (but l. 34 sun) XIII. 135, won (accustomed adj.) VII. 161, VIII. 10 . . . bowsom VII. 209, bowxom IV. 221 r. w. com, but vide buxum V. l. 50.

- 5) *OF* *o* in tresore VIII. 163, XI. 128, baronnes / parsonnes VI. 347.

#### Sources of long 'u':

- 1) *Ags.* *û* in us r. w. Jesus I. 71, II. 1, VII. 207 . . . r. w. Augustus V. 39. r. w. Heliseus X. 113. It is generally diphthongized into 'ou'.
- 2) *Ags.* *u* before vocalized *w* > *g*: thoru V. 53, boru V. 54 (soru VI. 440).
- 3) *OF* *ou* in tures r. w. stures (conflict) II. 65, but see stowres XI. 55, vertues VII. 186 r. w. Jowes O. F. lueu.

#### Half long u we get in

- 1) *Ags.* *u* before *nd*: funden / bunden VIII. 259.
- 2) *OF* *ou* in turn II. 83, VI. 248, XIII. 170, scurn II. 84, VI. 247.

*Short 'u'* we get in lust VII. 275, rust VII. 276, murne XIII. 169.

## Sources of the Diphthongs.

### I. ai, ay.

- 1) *Ags.* *æg*: day I. 290, II. 113 . . . sunnenday Pr. 99, domesday VIII. 257, clay VII. 133, laye (prt.) VII. 134, may II. 173, VII. 38, maye XII. 22, fain I. 180, IV. 262, unfain VI. 412, frain (inf. to ask) XII. 148, said (prt.) III. 11, 161, cp. slay (inf. *Ags.* sléan Icel. slá) II. 130, generally sla (see above article on long a).
- 2) *Ags.* *eg*, *ëg*: says Pr. 11, IV. 136, layd (pp.) II. 237, III. 12 . . . thain (sb. thane) I. 122, play I. 161, II. 90, III. 241 . . . tray (grief) III. 242, XI. 184, lain (pp.) I. 152, way I. 11, III. 261, away I. 162, II. 114, always Pr. 95, igain IV. 261, VI. 411. 463, VII. 136, upbrayd II. 236 (ten Brink Ch. § 41).



- 3) *Ags. æg*: grai III. 201 (but cp. l. 198 grá).
- 4) *Ags. â* = *ON ei*: nay IV. 17, XI. 165, XII. 21; ay I. 24, VIII. 258, wailewaye XII. 151, cp. waire (adj. wary) IV. 127, nais ON neiss ashamed, contempted (Hâvamal 49) IV. 135, XIII. 25.
- 5) *ON ei*: rayk (Icel. reika to wander) IV. 277, laik (sb. play) IV. 278, bain (adj. obedient) VI. 464, VIII. 156, graithed r. w. laid VI. 401, XIII. 203, inf. grathe r. w. laythe (adj.) IV. 114, ought to graythe. thai, thay Pr. 103, II. 89, III. 202, thaye XII. 19.
- 6) *OF ai, ei*: straye (subj.) IV. 141 (OF *estraier*), prai (booty) IV. 203, lay (law OF *lai, lei, ley*) XIII. 58. 71, payed (pleased) VI. 343, purvaide (pp.) VI. 323, pray (vb. OF *preier*, Latin *precari*) I. 289, VI. 344, abbaye II. 184, XII. 77, maister (sb.) VIII. 149 r. w. faister (to foster), Maudelayn I. 151, 179.
- 7) *OF accented a or e before l mouillé*: auail/consail VI. 437.

## II. Sources of ei, ey.

- 1) *Ags. éa*: on hey (on high) VII. 179, X. 163, fley (prt. s) VII. 180, eye XIII. 86, seye XIII. 99 (ind. pres., if we take quen for 'as', or prt. 3 s. if we change I into 'he').
- 2) *Different sources*: fleys *Ags. flæsc*, OHG *fleisc* XIII. 25 r. w. neys, but VIII. 145 rhyming with *dronkennes*, we are inclined to read *flesc*. cp. VII. 264 *fles*, VIII. 58 *flesch* in hey (quickly, in haste) r. w. cry VI. 429, r. w. bye (prp.) XIII. 193, from *Ags. vb. hígian* ought to be hy or hi as seen in I. 35, II. 85 r. w. I, witerly. At the time of the first composer 'hy' was pronounced 'hee', but when the copyist wrote down the homilies, the pronunciation had changed and hey was pronounced as in MnE 'to hie'. This is the reason of the inconsistency of hey rhyming with cry, bye which were pronounced as spelt with 'ee' cp. rhymes folye VI. 253, ferlie X. 41, I/folye IV. 219, dreye *Ags. dréogan* to suffer, endure VII. 83, deye (to die) Icel. *deyja* OS *doian* VII. 84, XIII. 85. 100.

### III. Sources of au, aw.

- 1) *Ags. âw*: knawe (inf.) IV. 51, VII. 110, sawes (3s. pres. to sow) XII. 69. 173, sau (prt. 1 pr. s) VIII. 175, sawe (3 pr. s. prt.) IX. 135, sau (prt. 3 pl.) VII. 183, VII. 59.
- 2) *Ags. âg, æg*: thrawe (moment) XI. 198, au (1 pl. pres. of ágan) VII. 236.
- 3) *Ags. ag*. gnawe (subj.) XI. 197, plawes (play, sport) VIII. 218, schawe (wood) IV. 134, VIII. 160, quawes (waves) XI. 26, maw (stomach) IX. 136, lawe (sb.) III. 93, X. 13, XIII. 39 (cp. lauh VIII. 19), outelau VIII. 176, outlawe IV. 123, drawe (inf.) Pr. 81, drau VII. 239, draus (3 s. pres.) III. 53, drawes (3 pl.) II. 190, witdraw (inf.) XIII. 40, sawe (sb.) III. 35, Pr. 87, sau (sb.) Pr. 81, II. 23, VII. 109.
- 4) *Ags. éaw*: schaw (inf.) III. 15, schau (inf.) Pr. 49, 109, schawes (3 s. pr.) Pr. 87, II. 79, traues III. 54 (throe)  
- *Ags. thréa* OHG drauwa (Strat.).
- 5) *ON ag, ág*: awe (sb. ági) III. 115, felawe IV. 241, felau VII. 239, felawes VIII. 92, felaues III. 226.

### Sources of eu, ew.

- 1) *Ags. eow*: breu (inf.) II. 53, gleu (sb. glee) II. 54, knew (prt.) VII. 125, witdrew (prt.) VII. 126, Lay. and Orm still show the form droh. It is toward the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century that the vocalisation of h, g took place into w, u.
- 2) *Ags. eaw*: thewes (sb. habit, commandment) VIII. 53, schewes (vb. 3 s.) VIII. 54, l. 215 schewes r. w. felawes ought to be schawes which is the usual form of our dialect, see in the body of lines X. 51, XI. 95, XII. 36... but forms with 'e' VII. 101, 121, 132.

I did not find any rhymes in 'oi' or 'oy' and in the body of lines it is only found in French words such as froit Pr. 9, l. 33, XII. 38, 50 . . . poyntys l. 76, ointment l. 207, joy, cloyster, stroies XI. 49, caroin, boystes XII. 75. 84 . . .

## V. Sources of 'ou'.

We have seen that our author thus far wrote just as he pronounced his words. Now and then we have met with the tendency which must be attributed to the younger writer of diphthongizing the o into ou bouht, brouht, thouht, fourm, but they are stray forms. Therefore I am certain that, if we meet words spelt with 'ou' or 'ow', they are really to be pronounced as diphthongs, whether they are English or French words, though the chief intonation may be on the vowel 'u', as a modern Englishman would pronounce the French word *le trou*, labourer, etc.

### Sources of 'ou' are.

- 1) *Ags. ú*: couthe (adj.) I. 63, id. (prt.) VI. 454, uncouthe XII. 134, selcouthe VII. 178, VIII. 31; mouthe I. 64, VI. 453 . . . about III. 187, toun I. 185, XI. 217, thou II. 224, IX. 52, X. 35, nou I. 281, II. 225 . . . hou (adv.) I. 258, 282, doun (adv.) X. 83, doune X. 80. Lay. and Orm write 'dun' and 'dune' Haveloc, which was composed about 1280, knows the two forms 'dun' and 'doun', in our homilies we get 'doun' in the rhyme with benisoune & ranzoun, but also 'dunward' X. 2, house V. 58, VI. 296 r. w. spouse, really a French word, but of very early use in *Ags.* VIII. 8, IX. 70.
- 2) *Ags. eow, eog*: you I. 257, II. 266 r. w. trow (vb. to trust) & hou (adv.) trow I. 42, youth VIII. 75, XII. 133.
- 3) *OF -on, -or, -ont, -ture* have been diphthongized: prisoun Pr. 150, III. 42. 106 . . . feloun III. 41. 105, resoun III. 299, XIII. 27, question III. 300, donjoun IV. 298, benisoune X. 79, processioune XI. 218, XIII. 28, tronchoun XIII. 243. 255, deuotyoun XIII. 256, one instance in -on avision XIII. 244, ranceoun Pr. 149, ranzoun X. 84, emperour V. 38, traytour VI. 421, lechour VI. 422, socoures XI. 56, acount Pr. 45, II. 268, amount Pr. 46, II. 269; stowres XI. 55 (*OF* estour, estor, estur conflickion); auntour *ME* contraction of

'aventure' V. 37; cp. also *dout* r. w. about III. 187, proper name *symoun* I. 186, XIII. 106.

Let us now take a survey of the state of the vowels in our *Metr. Hom.* as found out from the rhymes:

- I. The **OF vowels** have been taken over almost without any changes, yet with the tendency of broadening them:

*OF*  $\hat{t} = \hat{t}$  *servis, quantis, merci, envoye . . .*

*short i = short i* *baptist, gist.*

*ie = è* *maner, messenger, mister.*

*e > Lat. a = è* *trinite, pite, cite, chastite.*

*e > Lat. e > Greek η = è* *prophet.*

*ei = è* *pes.*

*e > Lat. a + l or el = è* *speciel, catel, mesel.*

*ei + a = è* *lel.*

*short e = short e* *ointment, gent, jagement.*

*a = a* *visage, vaiage, trouage, homage.*

*short o = short o* *tresor.*

*ou = long u* *stures, tures, turn, scurn.*

*ai, ei = ai* *straie, prai (sb.), lay (sb.), maister.*

*a before l mouillé = ai* *auail, consail.*

*-on, -or, -ont, -ture = -oun, -our, -ount, -tour* *pri-soun, emperour, acount, auntour.*

- II. The **Old Northern vowels** are also the same, but *Icel.* 'ei' has been broadened into 'ai' and *Icel.* 'g' vocalized into 'w' in certain words.

*ON*  $\hat{i} = \hat{i}$  *nite, knife, site (sb. grief).*

$\ddot{e}, e = e$  *kest, gest, stern, es.*

*long a = long a* *grate (inf.), bathe, haste.*

$\alpha, \alpha = a$  *kaste, tac, samen, thráf, rad (adj.).*

$\hat{o} = \hat{o}$  *bon, ró, rós, thró.*

*ei = ai* *rayk, laik, bain, graithed, nay, ay, thay.*

*oyja = ey* *deye.*

*åg = áw* *awe, felaw.*

- III. The **Anglo-Saxon** vowels however have undergone considerable changes:



### 1) Long vowels:

**Ags.** *i* = *i* rise, grise, rike, wis, ferlic, pin.

*i* = short *i* blis, I wis.

*long y* = *long i* pride, forthi, fire, hire.

*long y in contracted forms* = short *i* kid, hid.

*e* = *e* bem, dem, mede, he, brem, flem.

*e in contracted forms* = short *e* grette, mette.

*long æ* = *è* rede, dede (sb.), stret. cp. OHG *ei*

(Ags. long *æ*) in fleys.

*long æ before r & st* = *a* hare, are (adv.), mast.

*long æ with shortened stem* = short *e* left, ment, led.

*long a* = *long a* gast, lare, mar, bane, lam, sua, hal.

*âw, âg* = *au*, *aw* snâw, thrawe, knawe, au.

*â* = *è* wefe, fairhed, manhed.

*long o* = *long o* boc, lokes, blod, dom, do, scho  
(sb.), holde, golde, fold.

*o* = short *o* boht, broht, doht, thoht.

*long u* = *long u* us, Jesus.

*û* = *ou* mouthe, couthe, toun, doun (adv.).

### 2) Short Vowels:

**Ags.** short *i* = short *i* blin, spring, riht, Ingliss.

*y* = short *i* win (joy), sin (sb.), king, liste (vb.).

*i before ld, nd* = *i* find, blind, wind, mild, child.

*i or y before g* = *long i* hy, lies, bies, sties.

short *i* = *e* thred (3<sup>rd</sup>).

short *e* = short *e* telle, helle, lend, snell.

*eg* = *ai* igain, play, tray.

short *e* = short *i* think.

short *a* = short *a* tallé, sac, haf, wrak, lang, strang,  
than, can, man.

short *a with loss of g or k* = *a* ga, sla, mas.

*ag* = *aw, au* gnawe, mawe, sau.

*æ* = *long a* fast, rathe, thar, bare (prt.).

*æ* = short *a* was, glad, blac, bad (prt.).

*æ* = *e* messe.

*æg* = *ai* day, clay, fain, frain.

short *o* = short *o* on, hop, born.

*o* = *o* broken, lokin, spoken.

*o* or *u* = *o* or *u* son (u), nomen (u), com (u).

*short u* = *u* lust, rust.

*u* before *nd* = *half long u* funden, bunden.

*u* before *w* > *g* or *h* = *u* thoru, boru, soru.

### 3) Diphthongs :

Ags. *éa* = *è* dede (adj.), heued, leke, brede.

*éag* = *ey* on hey, fley (prt.), seye, eye.

*éaw* = *aw* traues (throes), schaw.

*éaw* = *ew* thewes, schewes.

*ea* = *è* merc, weld, elde, held (prt.)

*ea* = *à* care, bale, balo, ald, sald.

*ea* before *l, r, f* = *short a* alle, sal, fal, hall, gaf, arm.

*éo, ío, ie* = *i* liht, miht, briht, pliht.

*éo* = *e* thre, tre, fend, se.

*éo* = *o* scho (pron.), yode.

*éo* = *ey* dreye.

*eôw* = *eu* breu, gleu, knew, widdrew.

*eôw* = *ou* you, trow.

*eo* = *a* sware (neck, face).

According to Paul's Grundriss der Germ. Philologie p. 1024 ff. the lengthening of Ags. vowels and also of ON ones is a striking feature in the development of the English language and began to take place as ten Brink thinks about 1250, Morsbach however puts the date even earlier.

Now we have seen by our researches of the rhymes of the Metr. Hom. that. Ags. faran, sparman, man, faest, hraeth, thaer, baer (prt.) have become in our dialect fare, spare, man, fast, rathe, thar, bar, ON hasta, wan (hope), have got long a, but Ags. macian, sacu, gemaca (Mn E mate), wacan, crafian, also ON tac, rad, probably thraf have still preserved their short a, hop yet its short 'o'.

I certainly believe the words fast, last, stedfast, formast, lemman/wan 82, womman/staan 185, womman/aan 629, given by Hupe in E. E. T. S. orig. Series 101 p. 194 with short a, to have been pronounced with at least half long 'a'.

On the other hand we have instances enough in which long Ags. vowels have been shortened as bliss, kithe (vb.), ever (æefre) VII. 231, tale, madde (adj. Ags. gemaed or gemaad) and the numerous preterits of weak irregular verbs kid, hid, sette, mette, grette (greeted), ment, left, led, fedde, cledde, boht, broht, doht, soht . . . The remark in Hupe's researches about the Cursor Mundi (E. E. T. S., page 157 that the rhymes in -au or -aw point to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century, whilst the spelling in -ew belongs to the 14<sup>th</sup> century have been clearly proved true in our homilies; of all the numerous rhymes in -au or -aw, -awe there is a single instance of 'schewes' r. w. thewes VIII. 53 (l. 215 schewes has to be changed into schawes r. w. felawes), yet we often get forms in scheu, schewe etc. in the body of lines.

After the preceding researches I may venture upon the following conclusions. The Edinb. Ms. may be of the first quarter of the 14<sup>th</sup> century (a. 1325) as it has been fixed hitherto or perhaps a good deal younger, but the original work dates back to the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. It is probably younger than the composition of the Cursor Mundi which has been fixed by Hupe between 1254—90. An inquiry into the sources of the homilies which I have already done to a great extent, but have not yet got ready for publication, proves that the *Legenda aurea* by Jacobo a Voragine is not the version from which our narraciones attached to the homiletic part are taken, but our author used versions found in the *Vitae Patrum* and in *Vincentius Bellovacensis* besides the bible. Now the *Golden Book of Legends* is well known to Hampole about 1330, it has been largely used by younger collections of legends e. g. Bockenham's and would certainly have been employed by our learned composer who compiles his homiletic explanations to the 'Godspel of the Day' from the writings of Gregorius, Bede, Chrysostomus, Hieronymus a. s. o. if it had been in his possession. Therefore we may argue that the golden book was as yet unknown in England, although it gained very quickly a wide-spread circulation



throughout all Europe. With good reasons we may therefore put down the date of the original collection to about 1290.

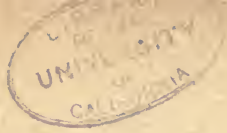
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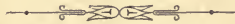




## List of Abbreviations besides the common ones.

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- M. H. = Metrical Homilies.  
C. M. = Cursor Mundi a. 1280.  
Strat. = Stratman's Dictionary.  
Lay. = Layamon a. 1200.  
A. R. = Ancren-Riwle a. 1230.  
Gen. & Ex. = Genesis and Exodus 1250—1300?  
Hav. = Haveloc a. 1280.  
R. of Gl. = Robert of Gloucester a. 1297.  
Shor. = Religious poems of W. de Shoreham 1315.  
K. Alis. = King Alisander a. 1300.  
S. E. Leg. = South English Legendary.  
S. A. L. = Sammlung alt-engl. Lègenden, Horstmann.  
Man. (F) & H. = Manning's Hist. of England 1330.  
Hamp. Ps. = Hampole's Psalter bef. 1340.  
P. L. S. = Poems and lives of saints ab. 1300.  
Pr. P. = Promptorium Parvulorum c. 1440.  
r. w. or / = rhyming with.
- 



## Biography.

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I, Omar Weber, am born on Dec. 31<sup>st</sup> 1871 at Aleppo in Syria as eldest child of Felix Weber from Netstal (Ct. Glarus, Switzerland). Sent to this country to get a thorough schooling, I lived from 1879—86 at Hottingen, near Zürich, and then continued my education at Berne up to 1891 when I passed my maturity examination. Two years later on I gained my Sekundarlehrerpatent whereupon I left for England. After a stay of two years and a half at Swanage and Abingdon I returned to Berne where the place of an English master at the Freie Gymnasium had been offered to me. I have kept this position up to this day still continuing my studies at the university of this town by hearing lectures from the professors Müller-Hess, Brückner, Vetter, Singer and Walzel. I cannot but express my warmest thanks to these gentlemen, especially Prof. Müller for their kindness which they have shown to me.











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